PORTRAITS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

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98

PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

VOL. V.

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Engraved by S. Freeman.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

OB. 1535.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

W. J. LENTHAL ESQ.[RE]

London, Published May 1, 1826; by Harding, Lepard, & C.° Pall Mall East.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In composing, several years since, a small sketch of the life of this admirable person, which has been published in another biographical collection, I summed up his character as it appeared to me, in terms which it may be pardonable to repeat here; for a second and more exact review of his conduct has furnished no ground for change of opinion, and to alter the diction of a few simple passages which the same pen could perhaps scarcely otherwise express, would produce but a silly counterfeit of originality. I shall perhaps take a similar liberty in a few subsequent instances, in the progress of the present work, and beg leave, once for all, to offer this apology for the practice, as well as for having said here so much on the subject.

To say that Sir Thomas More's was the brightest character of the age in which he lived, an age which exhibited the ferocity of uncivilised man without his simplicity, and the degeneracy of modern manners without their refinement, were praise beneath his merit; to challenge the long and splendid series of English biography to produce his equal at any period, might be deemed presumptuous: but, if the wise and honest statesman, the acute and incorrupt magistrate, the loyal but independent subject, constitute an excellent public man; if the good father, the good husband, and the good master, the firm friend, the moral though witty companion, the upright neighbour, the pious christian, and the patient martyr, form a perfect private character, ecce homo.

He was born in Milk street, Cheapside, about the year 1480, the only son of Sir John More, a Judge of the King's Bench, by his wife, the daughter of a Mr. Handcombe, of Holywell, in Bedfordshire. He acquired the learned languages at the hospital

of St. Anthony, in the parish of St. Benet Fink, in London, then a school of high reputation, from whence he was removed to St. Mary Hall, or, as some have said, to Canterbury College, now Christchurch, in the University of Oxford. The primate, Cardinal Morton, in whose family he passed some of his earliest years, in the character of a gentleman attendant, according to the fashion of that time, charmed as much by his wit as by his learning, often said to the great persons at his table, "this child here waiting, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous great man;" and the prediction soon began to be verified, for, even at the age of eighteen, the literary fame which he had acquired provoked the envy of some German critics, and the praise of others. Erasmus, at that time, wrote to him in the behalf of Brixius, one of the former class, who had attacked him in an invective intituled "Antimorus," seriously intreating his mercy to that old and experienced disputant.

Just at this period he left the university, and began to study the law in New Inn, and afterwards in Lincoln's Inn, passing his hours of leisure in a circle, of which he naturally became the centre, composed of those whose wisdom and learning could best inform, and of those the vivacity of whose genius could most delight. At the age of twenty-one, when he had barely been called to the station of an utter barrister, he was elected a member of the House of Commons, and was presently distinguished there for a freedom of conduct which, at that time, could have arisen only from the purest motives. In that spirit he opposed in 1503 the requisition of a subsidy and three-fifteenths, for the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry the seventh, to the King of Scots, with such force and honesty of reasoning, that the rejection of the demand is said to have been ascribed almost wholly to his endeavours. A privy counsellor ran immediately from the house, and told the King that "a beardless boy had overthrown all his purpose," and Henry satisfied at once his anger and his avarice by committing, under some

frivolous pretences, the young senator's father to the Tower, and forcing him to purchase his release by the payment of a fine of one hundred pounds. More, however, became so alarmed at the King's resentment that he retired for a considerable time from the parliament, and from his professional avocations, and during that interval, which seems to have been passed in a place of concealment, he studied geometry, astronomy, and music, in which last he much delighted, and exercised his pen in historical composition.

He returned at length to his practice at the bar, which presently became so extensive as to produce, according to his own report to his son-in-law, and biographer, Mr. Roper, an annual income of four hundred pounds, equal at least to five thousand in our days. He remained however in disfavour at court till after the accession of Henry the eighth, who, with all his faults, easily discovered, and generally encouraged, true merit. The King sent for him by Wolsey, and, on the first taste of his extraordinary powers, determined to employ him. Foreign negotiation was then held to be the most essential part of the education of a statesman. More was directed therefore in 1516 to accompany Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, one of his intimate friends, to Flanders, for the renewal of a treaty of alliance with the Archduke of Austria, afterwards Charles the fifth, and on his return was warmly invited by Henry to devote himself to the service of the Crown, which his prudence, and indeed his interests, induced him at that time, and for some years after, to decline. The King at length pressed him with such earnestness that he durst no longer refuse, and in 1519 he accepted the office of a Master of the Requests; was soon after knighted, and sworn of the Privy Council; and in the succeeding year appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer. More's hesitation had been wholly unaffected. On the occasion of his becoming a Privy Counsellor, he expressed himself (according to Stapleton, one of his biographers,) to his bosom friend, Bishop Fisher, in these terms; and the passage is rendered the more valuable by the features which it discloses, on

such good authority, of Henry's character at that time. "I am come to the court extremely against my will, as every body knows, and as the King himself often twitteth me in sport for it; and hereto do I hang so unseemly, as a man not using to ride doth sit unhandsomely in his saddle. But our Prince, whose special and extraordinary favour towards me I know not how I shall ever be able to deserve, is so affable and courteous to all men, that every one who has never so little hope of himself may find somewhat whereby he may imagine that he loveth him; even as the citizens' wives of London do, who imagine that our Lady's picture, near the Tower, doth smile upon them as they pray before it. But I am not so happy that I can perceive such fortunate signs of deserving his love, and of a more abject spirit than that I can persuade myself that I have it already: yet, such is the virtue and learning of the King, and his daily increasing industry in both, that by how much the more I see his Highness increase in both these kingly ornaments, by so much the less troublesome this courtier's life seemeth unto me."

In 1523 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and in the following year, says Hakewel, of the House of Peers. In the former capacity he again distinguished himself by his firm opposition to a subsidy, and, personally, to Wolsey, who came to the house, in his usual splendor, to influence the decision by his presence. On a question having been previously debated whether they should receive him but with a few attendants, or with his whole train, More is reported to have said, "Masters, forasmuch as my Lord Cardinal lately, ye wot well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues, for things uttered out of this house, it should not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp; with his maces, his pillars, his poll-axes, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too; to the intent that if he find the like fault with us, then we may be the bolder, from ourselves, to lay the blame on those whom his Grace bringeth with him." The favour of Henry, whose natural generosity of spirit then perhaps remained

unabated, was not impaired by this unusual freedom: More, in 1526 was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; in the following year was joined to Wolsey, and others, in an embassy to the Court of France; and in 1529 went with Tonstal to Cambray, to secure the payment of certain sums due to the King from Charles the fifth, his success in which business won him the highest approbation. He was now Henry's most esteemed servant, and most familiar companion, but he had found some reasons to alter his opinion of his master's character. Roper informs us that, about this time, Henry coming suddenly, as he frequently did, to dine with More at his house at Chelsea, and walking long after dinner in the garden, with his arm about Sir Thomas's neck, Roper, after the King's departure, congratulated him on so distinguished a mark of royal kindness, observing that no one except Wolsey had ever before experienced such condescension. "I thank our Lord, son," replied More, "I find his Grace my very good Lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm; howbeit, son Roper, I must tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go off."

Henry's mind was now wholly occupied by his long cherished project of the divorce. He had consulted and reasoned with More on that great subject, and had met with a firm opposition. So attached, however, was he to the man, or so anxious for the sanction of his coincidence, that he determined to gratify the one, or to bribe the other, by a grant of the first station under the crown. More was appointed on the twenty-fifth of October, 1530, to succeed the disgraced Cardinal in the office of High Chancellor, which had never before been held by a layman, and this was the first serious blow struck by Henry at the power of the priesthood. He entered on it with melancholy forebodings, which were too soon verified. With a Christian perfection, which, as has been well said, and by a dissenter too, was such as made him "not only an

honour to any particular form of Christianity, but to the Christian name and cause in general;" his zeal for the Romish church was equalled only by the benevolent spirit in which he exercised it. He had for some time beheld in silent horror the gradual approaches to the downfall of that church, and was now called to a situation in which he was compelled either to aid its enemies with his counsels, and to ratify their decisions by his official acts, or to incur the severest penalties by his refusal. He virtuously preferred the latter, and, having persevered to the end in denying any degree of countenance to the proposed divorce, on the sixteenth of May, 1533, he resigned the seal, determined that it should never be placed by his hand on the instrument by which that process was to be concluded.

The definitive sentence was pronounced and published on the twenty-third, and the coronation of Anne Boleyn, to whom the impatient Henry had been for some time united, at least by the forms of matrimony, was fixed for the thirty-first of the same month. More, doubtless by the King's order, was pressed by several of the Bishops who were to officiate, to be present at the ceremony, for his reputation stood so high in the kingdom that even the slightest colour of approbation from him was esteemed important; but he stedfastly refused, and boldly declared to those prelates his conviction of the illegality of the marriage. Henry now sought to move him by terror. In the ensuing parliament a bill of attainder against him was agitated in the House of Peers, for misprision of treason in the affair of that enthusiast, or impostor, who was called the Holy Maid of Kent, and he was more than once cited before the Privy Council on other charges, but the evidence on each proved too weak even for the terrible fashion of that reign. The act of supremacy, which appeared in 1534, at length fixed his fate. When the oath prescribed by it was tendered to him he declined to take it, and was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster, and, on a second refusal, a few days after, to the Tower of London.

Endeavours were now again ineffectually used to win him by persuasion, while the kind and merciful Cranmer as vainly endeavoured to prevail on the King to dispense with the oath in More's case. After fifteen months' imprisonment, he was arraigned of high treason at the King's Bench bar, for denying the King's supremacy. Rich, the Solicitor-General, afterwards Chancellor, was the sole witness against him, and the testimony of that wretch, whose name should be consigned to eternal infamy, consisted in the repetition of speeches which he had artfully drawn from More, during a visit to his prison, in a familiar conversation, which Rich had commenced by expressly declaring that he had no commission to agitate in it any matter regarding the prosecution. Much even of this evidence Sir Thomas positively denied, but the jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; a doom which Henry altered, in consideration of the high office which he had held. He was beheaded upon Tower Hill on the fifth of July, 1535, and his revered head was ignominiously exposed on London Bridge, from whence, after many days, it was privately obtained by his affectionate daughter, Roper, and by her placed in the vault of her husband's family, under a chapel adjoining to St. Dunstan's church in Canterbury. His body was interred in the chapel of the Tower, but afterwards removed, at the solicitation of that lady, to the parish church of Chelsea, and buried there, in the chancel, near a monument which he had some years before erected, with an inscription written by himself.

Perhaps of all the remarkable persons who adorned or disgraced the age in which he lived we are the most clearly acquainted with the life and character of Sir Thomas More; and this, though few men have found more biographers, for his life has been ten times separately written and published, we owe chiefly to the perfect candour and sincerity which distinguished him. His acts and his sayings composed the history not only of his conduct but of his motives, and left to those who have written of him only the

simple task of collecting facts, to which the fondest partiality could add no further grace, and on which even malice could have cast no blemish. But he lived without enemies, and, since his death, Bishop Burnet only has dared to lift a pen against his memory. In his earnest devotion to the Catholic faith, and to the See of Rome, he was severe only to himself. The fury of conflicting zealots was calmed while they reflected on his virtues, and when Rome celebrated his canonization with a just and honest triumph, the church of England looked on in silent approbation. In his court no one ever presided with more wisdom, learning, and perspicacity; with a more rigid devotion to justice; or with more vigilance, impartiality, and patience: when he quitted it, he left not a single cause undecided. The strictness of his loyalty, and his magnanimous independence, were always in perfect unison, because they flowed from one and the same source, an honest heart. In all the domestic relations the beauty of his life was unparalleled. Erasmus has left us a glowing picture of him, retired, at Chelsea, in the bosom of his family. The passage has been thus translated. "More hath built near London, upon the Thames, such a commodious house as is neither mean nor subject to envy, yet magnificent enough. There he converseth affably with his family; his wife, his son, and daughter in law; his three daughters, and their husbands; with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man living so affectionate with his children as he, and he loveth his old wife as well as if she were a young maid; and such is the excellence of his temper, that whatsoever happeneth that could not be helped, he loveth it as though nothing could have happened more happily. You would say there were in that place Plato's academy; but I do the house injury in comparing it to Plato's academy, where there was only disputations of numbers, and geometrical figures, and sometimes of moral virtues. I should rather call his house a school or university of christian religion, for there is none therein but readeth or studieth the liberal

sciences: their special care is piety and virtue: there is no quarrelling, or intemperate words, heard; none seen idle; which household discipline that worthy gentleman doth not govern by proud and haughty words, but with all kind and courteous favour. Every body performeth his duty, yet there is always alacrity; neither is sober mirth anything wanting."

More himself has proved the correctness of Erasmus's account in the dedication, to an intimate friend, of his Utopia, by expressions which I cannot help inserting here, for it is not easy to quit the story of his private life—"Whilst I daily plead other men's causes," says he (to use the words of his translator) "or hear them, sometimes as an arbitrator, other while as a judge: whilst this man I visit for friendship, another for business, and whilst I am employed abroad about other men's matters all the whole day, I leave no time for myself, that is for study: for when I come home I must discourse with my wife; chat with my children; speak with my servants; and, seeing this must needs be done, I number it amongst my affairs, and needful they are, unless one would be a stranger in his own house: for we must endeavour to be affable and pleasing to whom either nature, chance, or, choice, hath made our companions; but with such measure it must be done that we don't mar them with affability, or make them of servants our masters, by too much gentle entreaty and favour. Whilst these things are doing, a day, a month, a year, passeth. When then can I find any time to write? for I have not yet spoken of the time that is spent in eating and sleeping, which things alone bereave most men of half their life. As for me, I get only that spare time which I steal from my meat and sleep; which, because it is but small, I proceed slowly; yet, it being somewhat, I have now at length prevailed so much, as I have finished, and sent unto you, my Utopia."

The chief singularity of his character was a continual disposition to excessive mirth, and the Lord High Chancellor of England

was perhaps the first droll in the kingdom. Lord Herbert, willing, for obvious reasons, to find fault with him, and unable to discover any other ground, censures the levity of his wit; and Mr. Addison well observes that "what was philosophy in him would have been phrenzy in any one who did not resemble him, as well in the cheerfulness of his temper as in the sanctity of his life and manners." Feeling that gaiety was the result of innocence, he seems to have conceived that the active indulgence of it was a moral duty. Among other hints of this remarkable opinion which are scattered in his works, speaking of the Utopian burials, at which he tells us none grieved, he says "when those to whom the deceased was most dear be come home, they rehearse his virtuous manners, and his good deeds, but no part is so oft or gladly talked of as his merry death." That his own was such is well known. He had not been shaved during his long imprisonment, and after he had placed his neck on the block, he raised his hand, and put his beard forward, saying that it should not be cut off, for it had committed no treason. His witticisms are to be still found in abundance even in every ordinary jest book, and none have been better authenticated.

That Sir Thomas More should have found leisure for most extensive and various exercise of his pen is truly astonishing. In his youth he composed some pieces in English verse, which do him little credit, and would, had they not been his, have been long since forgotten. They are intituled, "A merry jest, how a serjeant would learn to play a frier."—"A rueful lamentation on the death of Elizabeth, wife of Henry the seventh."—"Certain metres for the Book of Fortune."—Ballads called "Lewys, the lost Lover," and "Davy, the dicer,"—and nine sets of lines, explanatory of as many devices painted on certain hangings in his father's house. The first and last of these are supposed to have been his earliest productions. His prose works, in English, are a treatise on the text "Memorare Novissima, et in æternum non peccabis."—A Dialogue, treating of the worship of Images

and Reliques, praying to Saints, and Pilgrimages, and " touching the pestilent sects of Luther and Tyndale."—" The Supplication of Souls," written against Simon Fishe's popular tract named " The Supplication of Beggars."—" A Confutation of Tyndale," in nine books.—" An Apology," in answer to a book intituled " a Treatise of the division between the Spirituality and Temporality."—" The Debellation of Salem and Bizance," written in reply to an answer to that Apology.—" An Answer to the first part of the poisoned book which a nameless Heretic" (John Frith) " hath named ' the Supper of the Lord.' "—" A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation."—" A Treatise to receive the blessed body of Christ, sacramentally and virtually both."—The life of Picus, Earl of Mirandola, translated from the Latin; and several letters, among which are many to his family, beautifully illustrative of his character. All these were collected, and published in 1557, in one very bulky volume, by his sister's son, William Rastall, the eminent lawyer, together with an English translation of the Utopia.

His Latin works are the Lives of Edward the fifth, and Richard the third, unfinished, which may be found translated, and completed, by Bishop Kennet, in the best general collection extant of English history. The celebrated Utopia, of which twelve editions have been published in its original form, eleven in English, two in French, and one in Italian; and several smaller works, most of which were printed together at Louvain, in 1566, namely, " Expositio Passionis Domini."—" Precationes ex Psalmis."—" Quod pro fide mors fugienda non est."—" Responsis ad convitia Martini Lutheri."—" Imploratio divini auxilii contra tentationem, cum insultatione contra Dæmones, ex spe et fiducia in Deum."—" Epigrammata,"—" Progymnasmata,"—" Epistolæ,"—and " Epistola ad Academiam Oxon." He also translated the Dialogues of Lucian into Latin, and wrote annotations on the works of that author.

Sir Thomas More, when about the age of twenty-four, married

Jane, daughter of John Colte, of Candish, in Suffolk, and of Newhall, in Essex; by whom he had an only son, John; and three daughters, Margaret, wife of William Roper, of Eltham, in Kent, uncle to the first Lord Teynham; Elizabeth, of John, son and heir of Sir John Dauntsey; and Cicely, of Giles Heron, of Shacklewell, in Middlesex. Their brother, who has been idly said to have possessed scarcely common understanding, married an heiress of the family of Cressacre, of Barnborough, in Yorkshire, and so acquired estates there, which descended in the male line till the year 1795, when they fell by marriage to a family of Metcalfe, the heir male of which assumed, with an honest pride, the surname of his great ancestor. Sir Thomas married, secondly, Alice Middleton, a widow, the "old wife" mentioned by Erasmus, in a passage lately cited, and we are told by others that she was ugly, ill-tempered, and vulgar: by her he had no issue.

Engraved by T. A. Dean.

JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

OB. 1553.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR JOHN SHELLEY SIDNEY, BART.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Septr. 1. 1829.

JOHN DUDLEY,

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Tyranny and faction are the alternate followers, if not the necessary consequences of each other. The furious and fearless spirit of Henry the eighth had awed into inactivity those contending passions which under his inexperienced successor burst forth therefore with increased violence. Hence the six years of the amiable and beneficent Edward were stained even perhaps by more enormities than had disgraced the long reign of his barbarous father; for that philosophy of faction, if the expression may be allowed, which in our day bestows impunity on the leaders, and transfers the penalties to the innocent community, was then unknown, and every political contest ended in the bloodshed of some of it's authors. The minority of the Monarch, the rich spoils of the reformation, and the confusion in which Henry had left the succession to the throne, presented to the minds of the ambitious the most extravagant visions of power. The subject of the present memoir chose the last as the means of increasing a grandeur already too lofty; and by failing in the attempt forfeited his life, and acquired an eminent station in history, without exciting either pity or respect.

He was born in the year 1502, and his infancy was marked by the most unfavourable circumstances. His father, Edmund Dudley, a descendant from the ancient Barons Dudley, was one of the two chief ministers to the avarice of Henry the seventh, and was put to death, together with his colleague, Empson, in the first year of the succeeding reign. It has been said that there was more of policy than justice in this act of severity, and the restoration in blood of the son a very few months after favours

that opinion. The influence however of his mother, Elizabeth, who was a coheir of the Greys, Viscounts Lisle, a title which was afterwards revived in her second husband, Arthur Plantagenet, perhaps did much towards procuring that grace. By her, who was equally illustrious for her high birth and eminent virtues, he was brought to the court about the year 1523, in the autumn of which he attended Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France, and was knighted for his gallant conduct there. On his return he attracted the notice of Wolsey, whom he accompanied on his embassy to Paris in 1528, and through whose favour he obtained the office of Master of the Armoury in the Tower, and on the fall of that minister attached himself to Cromwell, who, after the marriage, so fatal to himself, of Henry the eighth to Anne of Cleve, procured for him the appointment of Master of the Horse to that Princess. Such were the insignificant steps which this extraordinary person first mounted on his progress towards almost unlimited power.

He was one of the handsomest men of his time; excelled in military exercises; and was peculiarly distinguished by his adroitness and rich equipment in tournaments. Henry, till he arrived at middle age, generally selected his favourites from such persons, and those qualifications, perhaps, first recommended Dudley to his good graces. Hitherto undistinguished, but in the inauspicious stations of a retainer to two disgraced ministers, and a servant in the household of a detested Queen, the King suddenly took him into the highest favour; bestowed on him in 1542, on the death of his father-in-law, the dignity of Viscount Lisle, and, immediately after, the Order of the Garter, and the office of High Admiral of England for life. He commanded, in that capacity, in the succeeding year, a formidable expedition to the coasts of Scotland, in which he seems, Lord Herbert only having left a hint to the contrary, to have been completely successful, as well in the military as in the naval part of his commission, for he commanded the vanguard of the army which had

sailed in his fleet. This service performed, he instantly embarked for Boulogne, then besieged by the King in person; assisted considerably in the reduction of the place, and was appointed governor of it. Henry, however, had further views in selecting him for that office. He had discovered in Dudley's mind a quick and penetrating judgment, united to that gallant courage which he so much admired. He knew that France was then secretly straining every nerve to equip a fleet for the invasion of England, and it was of the utmost importance to him to place such a man at a point equally apt for observation, and for active service. The consequence fully proved the sagacity of his arrangement. The French force suddenly put to sea, and Dudley, with a fleet much inferior, not only effectually repulsed it, but attacked, in his turn, the enemy's coast, and destroyed the town of Treport, and several adjacent villages in Normandy. These circumstances led to the treaty of peace with Francis the first of the seventh of June 1545, for the ratification of which he was appointed a commissioner.

Henry, who survived that event not many months, constituted him one of the sixteen executors to his will, and those eminent persons were invested by him also with the guardianship of the young Edward. The Earl of Hertford, soon after Duke of Somerset, who was the King's maternal uncle, prevailed however on the majority of them to declare him Protector, and here, though Dudley made no open opposition to the appointment, originated the enmity between those two great men. One of the Protector's first acts was to bestow on his brother, Thomas, Lord Seymour, the post of High Admiral, which had been held with so much credit by Dudley, and which he was now compelled to relinquish, under the shew of a voluntary resignation. It is true that he received magnificent compensations, for on the very day that the patent was passed to his successor, the seventeenth of February, 1547, he was appointed Great Chamberlain of England, and created Earl of Warwick, a title the dignity of

which was presently after highly enhanced by a gift from the Crown of the castle and manor of that town, to which were added grants of many other estates of great value, but the revocation of his commission of Admiral still rankled in his bosom. He endeavoured to conceal his disgust from Somerset, and the Protector, on his part, affected not to perceive it. Their characters were dissimilar, even to positive opposition, but they were necessary to each other. The Protector, with many admirable talents for a statesman in more composed times, was mild, timid, and irresolute; Warwick was active and courageous; sudden, and seldom erroneous in judgment, and always prompt in execution. Somerset had already risen to the highest exaltation, but felt his inability to maintain himself there by his own resources; while Warwick, on whom the prospect of his own future deceitful glory had not yet opened, sullenly determined to place himself for a time on that heavy but powerful wing which he was not at present able to clip. While he acted however with the Protector, he served him with zeal and fidelity. He commanded the English army in Scotland under Somerset, in the quality of his Lieutenant General, and the signal victory of Musselborough has been ascribed by those of our historians who wrote nearest to his time, to his conduct and courage; and signalized himself immediately after as a statesman in a negotiation at Paris, where he dexterously contrived at once to reject steadily the demand by the French king of Boulogne, and to avert the conflict which was expected to follow that refusal. In the mean time the Protector's government assumed a more despotic form, and many of his measures were unfortunate. The war in Scotland, which it is said would have occupied only the campaign of 1547 had the vigorous plan suggested by Warwick been adopted, was feebly and expensively managed; strange feuds occurred between Somerset and his brother, which ended in the Admiral's attainder and execution; the people became discontented, and at length broke out into a formidable insurrection, in many parts of the kingdom. Warwick

was sent against them in Norfolk, at the head of an army which had been raised to serve in Scotland; defeated them in a general action; prevailed on them to give up their leaders; and treated the rest with a mildness which would have done honour to a more civilized age.

Hitherto this great man had preserved a noble character, but irresistible temptations were at hand. The Lords of the King's guardian council, to whom the Protector had of late allowed little share in the government of the State, became indignant, and conspired to divest him of his authority. Warwick possessed all the talents, as well as the temper, for the leader of such a band, and fell, as it were naturally, into that station. The Protector was imprisoned, and the Earl took his place in the favour and confidence of the King, which he soon after effectually fixed by releasing Somerset, whom Edward sincerely loved, from the Tower, and consenting, at the request of that Prince, to the marriage of his heir to the daughter of his fallen adversary, which was solemnized in the King's presence on the third of June, 1550. About the same time his office of High Admiral was restored to him; he resigned the place of Lord Great Chamberlain, and accepted that of Steward of the Royal Household; was soon after appointed Earl Marshal; and on the eleventh of October, 1551, was raised to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland. Within very few days after, Somerset was suddenly accused of an intention to murder him, and on the first of December following was brought to a trial by his Peers. The mysterious circumstances of his case, on which our historians are much disagreed, will be mentioned somewhat at large in their proper place in this work. Suffice it therefore to say here that he was convicted of felony, and on the twenty-second of the succeeding month was beheaded. In considering of this sanguinary catastrophe, and of the steps which led to it, it is difficult to believe that Northumberland was wholly innocent, but impossible either to say that he was guilty, or to guess at the probable measure of his guilt. Perhaps the

strongest presumption to be urged in his favour, inasmuch as it tends to strengthen the opinion that Somerset was fairly charged with the crime for which he suffered, may be founded on the fact that the just, acute, and affectionate Edward made no effort to save his uncle's life, nor does he, in his Journal, that most curious historical collection, express any regret for the Protector's awful fate.

Northumberland now rose to the possession of absolute dominion. The King submitted himself wholly to his direction; and the Nobility, variously swayed, by affection, interest, or fear, were divided into humble agents of his government, and silent spectators of his grandeur. At this remarkable juncture Edward's health suddenly declined, and his recovery presently became hopeless. Northumberland, who could scarcely indulge the reasonable hope even of an humble and obscure impunity under a legitimate successor to the throne, conceived, with his usual boldness and impetuosity, the extravagant project of placing on it the grand-daughter of a sister of Henry the eighth, having first made her the wife of one of his sons. This was the admirable Jane Grey, who was married to the Lord Guildford Dudley, in May, 1553. Edward, always too compliant, and now worn out by sickness, was easily prevailed on to acknowledge her visionary right, and the Judges were bribed, cajoled, or threatened, till they submitted to draw letters patent for the disposal of the Crown to her, which the King signed on the twenty-first of June, fourteen days before his death. It would be impertinent and useless to enlarge here on great points of English history already so frequently and so minutely detailed. From the hour of the King's departure Northumberland's high spirit and presence of mind seem to have forsaken him. On the tenth of July he caused Jane to be proclaimed Queen; and placed her for security in the Tower. On the fourteenth, he left London, to try the temper of the country, and reached, at the head of a feeble force, the town of Bury St. Edmunds. Discouraged by the indifference of the

people, he returned to Cambridge, and there, on the twenti ethof the same month, having heard of the defection of his pretended friends in London, he pusillanimously proclaimed Queen Mary, throwing his cap into the air, in token of his joy and loyalty. Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, arrived the next day with an order to arrest him, which he received with childish expressions of grief and contrition. He was conveyed to London, and, on the eighteenth of August, arraigned before his Peers, and condemned to die. Two days after, he wrote to the Earl of Arundel the following letter, which remains in the Harleian collection, a melancholy testimony of the truth of those historical relations which have been hitherto nearly incredible, of the utter abasement of spirit into which this great man fell under the reverse of his fortunes.

"Hon˜ble L^{d} and in this my distress my especiall refuge, most wofull was ye newes I receyved this eveninge by Mr. Lieutenant, that I must prepare my selfe agst. to morrowe to receyve my deadly stroke. Alas, my good L^{d}, is my crime so heynows as noe redempc˜on but my bloud can washe awaye ye spottes thereof? An old proverbe there is, and yt is most true, y^{t} a lyving dogge is better than a dead lyon. Oh y^{t} it would please her good Grace to give me life, yea ye life of a dogge, y^{t} I might but lyve, and kisse her feet, and spend both life, and all, in her hon^{r}.able services, as I have ye best part allready under her worthy brother, & her most glorious father. Oh y^{t} her mercy were such as she would consyder how little proffitt my dead and dismembered body can bringe her ; but how great and glorious an honor it will be in all posterityes, when ye report shall be y^{t} soe gracious & mighty a Queen had graunted life to soe miserable & penitent an abject. Your hon^{r}ble usage aud promises to me since these my troubles have made me bold to challenge this kindness at your handes: Pardone me if I have done amiss therein, & spare not, I pray, your bended knees for me in this distresse. Y^{e}. God of heaven, it may be, will requite it one day on you or your's ; and,

if my life be lengthened by your mediac~on, & my good L^{d}. Chancellor's, to whom I have alsoe sent my blurred L^{re}, I will ever vowe it to be spent at your hon^{r}able feet. Oh, good my Lord, remember how sweet life is, & how bitter ye contrary. Spare not your speech and paines, for God I hope, hath not shutt out all hopes of comfort from me in y^{t} gracious, princely, and womanlike harte, but y^{t} as the dolefull newes of death hath wounded to death both my soule & bodye, so ye comfortable newes of life shall be as a new resurrecc~on to my wofull heart. But, if noe remedy can be founde, eyther by imprisonm^{t}, confiscation, banishm^{t}, and the like, I can say noe more but God grant me patyence to endure, and a heart to forgive, the whole world.

Once yor fellowe and lovinge companion, but now worthy of noe name but wretchednes & misery.

J. D."

The next day, the twenty-second of August, 1553, he was brought out to suffer execution on Tower Hill, where he uttered a long speech to the multitude, in the same strain of miserable humiliation. Fox, to blacken Mary and her government, informs us that he had a promise of pardon, "even if his head were on the block," which that address tended to contradict, and which indeed is fully refuted by the terms of his letter to Lord Arundel. It is true that, contrary to the profession of his life, he declared himself on the scaffold a son of the Romish Church, a very natural artifice at such a moment. He seems indeed to have been indifferent as to modes of faith, and perhaps to religion in general.

Dudley married Jane, daughter of Sir Edward, and sister and heir of Sir Henry Guldeford, or Guildford, as commonly called, by whom he had eight sons, and five daughters. Henry, the eldest, was killed at the siege of Boulogne, at the age of nineteen; Thomas, died an infant; John, who bore the title of Earl of Warwick, and died a few months after the death of his father; Ambrose, who was restored to that title by Queen Elizabeth;

Robert, who became also in that reign Earl of Leicester, and the great favourite of that Princess; Guildford, who has been mentioned, and whom his father's ambition led to the scaffold; Henry, killed at the siege of St. Quintin's, in 1557; and Charles, who died in infancy. The daughters were Mary, wife of Sir Henry Sidney, and mother to the admirable Philip; Catherine, married to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; Margaret, Temperance, and another Catherine, who died infants.

Engraved by T. A. Dean.

LADY JANE GREY.

OB. 1554.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON.BLE THE EARL OF STAMFORD AND WARRINGTON.

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THE LADY JANE GREY,

FOR it is perhaps more prudent to adopt the inveterate absurdity almost invariably used in this instance, of designating a married woman by her maiden surname, than to incur the charge of obscurity or affectation by giving her that of her husband. It is most difficult to guess in what motive this singular folly could have originated, more especially as her ephemeral greatness, and its tragical termination, the only important circumstances of her public history, arose out of the fact of her union with him. It is needless however, and perhaps nearly useless, to attempt to solve that difficulty, and on this question between common sense and propriety on the one hand, and obstinate habit on the other, I am content to take the wrong side.

This prodigy of natural and acquired talents, of innocence and sweetness of temper and manners, and of frightful and unmerited calamity, was born in 1537, the eldest of the three daughters of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, by the Lady Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and of his illustrious consort, Mary, Queen Dowager of France, and youngest sister of Henry the eighth. The story of her almost infancy were it not authenticated by several whose veracity was as unquestionable as their judgement would be wholly incredible. Her education, after the fashion of the time which extended the benefits and the delights of erudition to her sex, was of that character, and was conducted by John Aylmer, a protestant clergyman, whom her father entertained as his domestic chaplain, and who was afterwards raised by Elizabeth to the see of London. For this gentleman she cherished a solid esteem and

respect, mixed with a childish affection which doubtless tended to forward the success of her studies. Those sentiments arose in some measure out of domestic circumstances. That elegant and profound scholar, and frequent tutor of royalty, Roger Ascham, informs us in his "Schoolmaster," that, making a visit of ceremony on his going abroad to her parents at their mansion of Broadgate in Leicestershire, he found her in her own apartment, reading the Phædon of Plato in the original, while her father and mother, with all their household, were hunting in the park. Ascham expressing his surprise that she should be absent from the party, she answered, to use his own words, "all their sport in the park I wisse is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato—alas, good folk, they never knew what true pleasure meant." "And how," rejoined Ascham, "came you, Madam, to this deep knowledge of pleasure; and what did chiefly allure you to it, seeing not many women, but very few men, have attained thereto?" To this she replied, with a sweet simplicity, that God had blessed her by giving her sharp and severe parents, and a gentle schoolmaster; "for," added she, "when I am in the presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am sharply taunted, and cruelly threatened, till the time come that I must go to Mr. Aylmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whilst I am with him; and thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed be but trifles and very troubles unto me."

Whether Ascham's first knowledge of her extraordinary attainments occurred at this period is unknown, but he certainly gave soon after the strongest proofs of the respect in which he held them. A long letter remains, perhaps one of many which he

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addressed to her, in which he declares his high opinion of her understanding as well as of her learning, and requests of her not only to answer him in Greek, but to write a letter in the same language to his friend John Sturmius, a scholar whose elegant latinity had procured him the title of "the Cicero of Germany," that he might have an indifferent witness to the truth of the report which he would make in that country of her qualifications. He speaks of her elsewhere with an actual enthusiasm. "Aristotle's praise of women," says he, "is perfected in her. She possesses good manners, prudence, and a love of labour. She possesses every talent, without the least weakness, of her sex. She speaks French and Italian as well as she does English. She writes elegantly, and with propriety. She has more than once spoken Greek to me, and writes in Latin with great strength of sentiment." Sir Thomas Chaloner, also her contemporary, not only corroborates Ascham's particulars of her erudite accomplishments, but adds that "she was well versed in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic; that she excelled also in the various branches of ordinary feminine education; played well on instrumental music, sung exquisitely, wrote an elegant hand, and excelled in curious needle work, and, with all these rare endowments, was of a mild, humble, and modest spirit." Fuller, who lived a century after her, condensing, with the quaint eloquence which distinguished him, the fruit of all authorities regarding her with which he was acquainted, says that "she had the innocency of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle, the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen; the birth of a princess, the learning of a clerk, the life of a saint, and the death of a malefactor for her parents' offences."

Her progress from this beautiful state of innocence and refinement to that dismal end was but as a single step, and the events relative to her which filled the short interval were matters rather of public than of personal history. By a marvellous fatality this admirable young creature was doomed to become the nominal

head and actual slave of faction, and a victim to the most guilty ambition. The circumstances of the great contest for rule between the Protector Somerset and Dudley which distinguished the short reign of Edward the sixth will be found elsewhere largely treated of in this work. The latter, having effected the ruin of his antagonist, employed his first moments of leisure in devising the means of maintaining the vast but uncertain power which he had so acquired. Among these the most obvious, and perhaps the most hopeful, was the establishment of marriage contracts between his own numerous issue and the children of the most potent of the nobility, and thus, early in the year 1553, the Lady Jane Grey, for whose father he had lately procured the Dukedom of Suffolk, became the consort of his youngest son, Guildford Dudley. He was secretly prompted however to form this union by the conception of peculiar views, not less extravagant than splendid. Edward, the natural delicacy of whose frame never promised a long life, had shewn some symptoms of pulmonary disease, and the confusion and uncertainty which the brutal selfishness of his father Henry had entailed on the succession to the crown suggested to the ardent and unprincipled Northumberland the possibility of diverting it into his own family under such pretensions as might be founded on the descent of his daughter-in-law.

The absurdity of this reverie, legally or indeed rationally considered, was self-evident. Not to mention the existence of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, who might indeed plausibly enough be said to stand under some circumstances of disinherison, Jane descended from a younger sister of Henry, and there was issue in being from the elder; nay her own mother, through whom alone she could claim, was living; and the marriages both of her mother and her grandmother had been very fairly charged with illegality. Opposed to these disadvantages were the enormous power of the party which surrounded Northumberland; his own complete influence over the mind of the young King; and

the affection which an agreement of age, talents, tempers, and studies, had produced in Edward towards his fair kinswoman, and which the Duke and his creatures used all practicable artifices to encrease. The nuptials were celebrated with great splendour in the royal palace, and the King's health presently after rapidly declined, insomuch that Northumberland saw no time was to be lost in proceeding to the consummation of his mighty project. Historians, with a licence too commonly used by them, affect to recite with much gravity the very arguments used by him to persuade Edward to nominate Jane his successor, of which it is utterly impossible that they should have been informed. All that can be truly said is that he gained his point to the utmost of his hopes and wishes.

The King was induced, apparently with little difficulty, to agree to certain articles, previously sanctioned by the Privy Council, declaring her next heir to the Crown, and, for some reason long since forgotten, but probably because it was expected that he would be the most pliable, Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was selected from the Judges, to digest and methodize them, with the aid of the Attorney and Solicitor General, into the strictest form that they could devise. Montague however, whose own account of his share in the transaction is extant, demurred. Having at first vainly endeavoured to withdraw himself entirely from the task, he sought to gain time, perhaps in expectation of the King's death, by beseeching to be allowed to consult the statutes, and all other authorities which might have any relation to so high a subject. Urged at length, with a vehemence no longer to be resisted, to proceed, he reported to the Council that the proposed measure was not only contrary to law, but would, if he were to obey their command, subject themselves, as well as him, to the penalties of high treason. Northumberland at that moment entered the council chamber in the utmost extravagance of fury; called Montague a traitor; swore that he would "fight any man in his shirt" who might gainsay the

King's inclination; and was actually about to strike the Chief Justice, and Bromley, the Attorney General. They retired, and when they were next summoned, the King, being present, reproved them sharply for delaying the duty required of them. At length over-awed, they consented, on condition of receiving an authority under the Great Seal, and a general pardon, and the instrument being prepared, the rest of the judges were required to attend, and to sign it, which was accordingly done by all, except one, Sir James Hales, a Justice of the Common Pleas, and a man otherwise unknown, who, to his endless honour, stedfastly refused to the last. The Primate, Cranmer, with that unfortunate irresolution which formed the only distortion in the symmetry of his beautiful character, approved of Jane's succession, but objected to the mode of accomplishing it; contended, perhaps with more vigour than might have been expected of him, but in the end submitted; and signed, with the rest of the Council, not only the document which had been prepared by the lawyers, but also a second, by which they bound themselves in the strictest engagement on oath to support her title, and to prosecute with the utmost severity any one among them who might in any degree swerve from that obligation.

The Letters Patent, confirming to Jane the succession to the Throne, were signed by Edward on the twenty-first of June, 1553, and on the sixth of the next month he expired. Of these events, and even of the mere scheme for her fatal elevation, she is said to have been kept in perfect ignorance. The King's death indeed was sedulously concealed from all for a few days, which Northumberland employed in endeavouring to secure the support of the city, and to get into his hands the Princess Mary, who was on her way to London when it occurred. She was however warned of her danger, and retreated; asserted without delay her title to the Crown in a letter to the Privy Council; and received an answer full of disdain, and professions of firm allegiance to her unconscious competitrix. While these matters were passing,

Northumberland, and the Duke, her father, repaired to Jane, and having read to her the instrument which invested her with sovereignty, fell on their knees, and offered her their homage. Having somewhat recovered from the astonishment at first excited by the news, she intreated with the utmost earnestness and sincerity that she might not be made the instrument of such injustice to the right heirs, and insult to the kingdom, and that they would spare her, her husband, and themselves, from the terrible dangers in which it could not but involve them. Her arguments however were unavailing, and no means were left to her but a positive refusal, in which perhaps the strength of mind which she certainly possessed might have enabled her to persist, when the Duchess, her mother, and the young and inexperienced Guildford, were called in, and to their solicitations she yielded. She was now escorted in regal state to the Tower, on her entry into which it is remarkable that her train was borne by her mother, and in the afternoon of the same day, the tenth of July, was proclaimed in London with the usual solemnities.

In the mean time Mary, who had retired to Kenninghall in Norfolk, assumed the title of Queen, and found her cause warmly espoused by many of the nobility, and nearly the whole of the yeomanry and inferior population of that and the adjacent counties. Those who ruled in the metropolis, and who, having fondly considered her as a fugitive, had stationed some ships on those coasts to intercept her on her expected flight to Flanders, were now suddenly compelled to raise a military force to oppose to the hourly increasing multitude of her supporters. Eight thousand horse and foot were collected with surprising expedition, the command of which was assumed by Northumberland, and it was agreed that Suffolk should remain in London to conduct the government; an unlucky transposition, arising from Jane's anxiety for the personal safety of her father, whose best experience was in martial affairs, while Dudley, with all the arts of a statesman, possessed few of those qualities which win the hearts of

soldiers, or bespeak success in the field. At the head however of this force he marched from London on the fourteenth of July, having taken leave of the Council in a short address from which his doubts of their fidelity may be clearly inferred. They were in fact at that moment agreed to betray the extravagant and unjust cause which they had so lately sworn to support. Even on the following day their intrigues became so evident that Suffolk, in the barrenness of political invention, commanded in the name of the Queen that the gates of the Tower should be kept constantly closed, to prevent the mischief which he apprehended from their communication with the adverse party. The Lord Treasurer with great difficulty procured egress for a few hours, and returned with the news that the naval squadron which had been equipped with the view of seizing the person of Mary had revolted to her, and letters were received from Northumberland pressing for reinforcements, and reporting the gradual defection of his troops on their march. The Council now affected the warmest zeal, and eagerly represented the impossibility of raising such succours otherwise than by their personal appearance among their tenants and dependants, most of them offering to lead to the field such forces as they might respectively raise. Suffolk, deceived by these professions, and by the earnestness of their dispatches to other powerful men in the country to the same effect, consented to release them from their imprisonment, for such it actually was. He did so, and they repaired, headed by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, to Baynard's Castle, the house of the latter of those noblemen, who had but a few weeks before married his heir to a sister of the unfortunate Jane, where they determined to proclaim Queen Mary, which was done on the same day, the nineteenth of July, 1553.

Jane received from her father the news of her deposition with the patience, the sweetness, and the magnanimity, which belonged to her surprising character. She reminded him with gentleness of her unwillingness to assume this short lived elevation, and

expressed her hope that it might in some measure extenuate the grievous fault which she had committed by accepting it; declared that her relinquishment of the regal character was the first voluntary act which she had performed since it was first proposed to raise her to it; and humbly prayed that the faults of others might be treated with lenity, in a charitable consideration of that disposition in herself. The weak and miserable Suffolk now hastened to join the council, and arrived in time to add his signature to a dispatch to Northumberland, requiring him to disband his troops, and submit himself to Queen Mary, which however he had done before the messenger arrived. Jane, whose royal palace had now become the prison of herself and her husband, saw, within very few days, its gates close also on her father, and on his. The termination of Northumberland's guilty career, which speedily followed, is well known, but Suffolk, for some reasons yet undiscovered, was spared. It has been supposed that his Duchess, who remained at liberty, and is said to have possessed some share of the Queen's favour, interceded successfully for him, and why may we not ascribe this forbearance to the clemency of Mary, in whose rule we find no instances of cruelty but those which originated in devout bigotry, a vice which while engaged in its own proper pursuits inevitably suspends the operation of all the charities of nature?

There is indeed little room to doubt that she meditated to extend her mercy to the innocent Jane and her youthful spouse. They were it is true arraigned and convicted of high treason on the third of November following the date of their offence, and sentenced to die, but the execution was delayed, and they were allowed several liberties and indulgences scarcely ever granted to state prisoners under their circumstances. The hopes however thus excited were cut short by the occurrence of Sir Thomas Wyat's rebellion, in which her father, while the wax was scarcely cold on his pardon, madly and ungratefully became an active party, accompanied by his two brothers. Thus Mary saw already

the great house of Grey once more publicly in array against her crown. The incentives to this insurrection are somewhat involved in mystery, and have been variously reported. The avowed pretence for it was an aversion to the Queen's proposed marriage with Philip of Spain, but there is strong reason to believe that with this motive was mixed, at least in the breasts of the leaders, a secret intention to re-assert the claim of Jane, and Bishop Cooper, a contemporary historian, tells us plainly in his Chronicle, that the Duke of Suffolk, "in divers places as he went, again proclaimed his daughter." Be this however as it might, it was now resolved to put her to death without delay, and it is pretty well authenticated that the Queen confirmed that determination with much reluctance and regret.

Jane received the news without discomposure, and became even anxious to receive the final blow, but here the bigotry of Mary interfered, and she commanded that no efforts should be spared to reconcile her to that church which arrogantly denies salvation to those who die not not in its bosom. She suffered the importunities, and perhaps the harshness, of several of its most eminent ministers, with equal urbanity and firmness. At length she was left to Feckenham, Mary's favourite chaplain, and afterwards Abbot of Westminster, a priest who united to a steady but well-tempered zeal an acute understanding, and great sweetness of manners, and by him, according to the fashion of the day, she was invited to a disputation on the chief points of difference between the two churches. She told him that she could not spare the time; "that controversy might be fit for the living, but not for the dying; and intreated him, as the best proof of the compassion which he professed for her, to leave her to make her peace with God." He conceived from these expressions that she was unwilling to quit the world, and obtained for her a short reprieve, which when he communicated to her she assured him that he had misunderstood her, for that, far from desiring that her death might be delayed, "she expected, and wished for it, as the period

of her miseries, and of her entrance into eternal happiness." He then led her into the proposed conference, in which she acquitted herself with a firmness, a power of argument, and presence of mind, truly astonishing. Unable to work the slightest impression, he left her, and she sat calmly down to make a minute of the substance of their discourse, which she signed, and which may be found in most of our ecclesiastical histories. She now addressed a farewell letter to her father, in which, with much mildness of expression, though certainly with less benignity of sentiment than is usually ascribed to her, she repeatedly glances at him as the author of her unhappy fate. She wrote also to her sister, the Lady Katherine Herbert, in the blank leaves of a Greek Testament, which she requested might be delivered as her legacy to that lady, an epistle in the same language, the translation of which, however frequently already published, ought not to be omitted here.

"I have sent you, my dear sister Katherine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, or the curious embroidery of the artfullest needles, yet inwardly it is more worth than all the precious mines which the vast world can boast of. It is the book, my only best loved sister, of the law of the Lord. It is the testament and last will which he bequeathed unto us wretches and wretched sinners, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy; and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, no doubt it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teach you to live and to die. It shall win you more, and endow you with greater felicity, than you should have gained by the possession of our woful father's lands; for as if God had prospered him you should have inherited his honours and manors, so, if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life according to the rule of the same, you shall be an inheritor of such riches as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither the thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire, with David,

my dear sister, to understand the law of the Lord thy God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life; and trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life, for unto God, when he calleth, all hours, times, and seasons, are alike, and blessed are they whose lamps are furnished when he cometh, for as soon will the Lord be glorified in the young as in the old. My good sister, once again more let me intreat thee to learn to die. Deny the world, defy the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord: Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not: Be strong in faith, yet presume not: and desire, with St. Paul, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh, and stealeth upon you like a thief in the night, you be with the servants of darkness found sleeping; and lest for lack of oil you be found, like the five foolish virgins, or like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you be cast into darkness, or banished from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I trust you do; and, seeing you have the name of a Christian, as near as you can follow the steps, and be a true imitator of your master Christ Jesus, and take up your cross, lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him.

"Now, as touching my death, rejoice as I do, my dearest sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption; for I am assured that I shall for losing a mortal life win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlasting, to which I pray God grant you in his blessed hour, and send you his all-saving grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true christian faith, from which in God's name I exhort you that you never swerve, neither for hope of life nor fear of death; for, if you will deny his truth to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himself will deny you, and by vengeance make short what you by your soul's loss would prolong; but if you will cleave to him, he will stretch forth your days to an uncircumscribed comfort, and

to his own glory; to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter when it shall please him to call you. Farewell once again, my beloved sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you, Amen.

Your loving sister,

JANE DUDLEY."

This letter was written in the evening of the eleventh of February, 1554, N. S. and on the following morning she was led to execution. Before she left her apartment she had beheld from a window the passage of her husband to the scaffold, and the return of his mangled corpse. She then sat down, and wrote in her tablets three short passages, in as many languages. The first, in Greek, is thus translated—"If his slain body shall give testimony against me before men, his blessed soul shall render an eternal proof of my innocence before God." The second, from the Latin—"The justice of men took away his body, but the divine mercy has preserved his soul." The third was in English—"If my fault deserved punishment, my youth and my imprudence were worthy of excuse; God and posterity will shew me favour." This precious relique she gave to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Brydges, soon after created Lord Chandos. Endeavours had been incessantly used to gain her over to the Romish persuasion, and Feckenham embarrassed her by his exhortations even to the moment of her death, immediately before which, she took him by the hand, and thanked him courteously for his good meaning, but assured him that they had caused her more uneasiness than all the terrors of her approaching fate. Having addressed to those assembled about her a short speech, less remarkable for the matter which it contained than for the total absence even of an allusion to her attachment to the reformed church, she was put to death, fortunately by a single stroke of the axe.

Engraved by W. Holl.

CARDINAL POLE.

OB. 1557.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF TITIAN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^T. HON^BLE LORD ARUNDEL OF WARDOUR.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, August 1, 1825.

CARDINAL POLE.

Reginald Pole, a noble example to the age in which he lived, stood almost alone, without acquiring the degree of distinction which he justly merited. The splendor of his birth forbade his mixing with a clergy generally sprung from the most ordinary ranks of the people, and the native candour and generosity of his heart restrained him from taking any share in those secret intrigues, those pious frauds, which were then the venial faults of the rulers of a falling church. He was in a great measure disqualified, not only by the sweetness of his temper, and the politeness of his breeding, but by the large scope of his mind, for controversies in which the most obscure and insignificant subtleties were always discussed with ill nature and ill manners. His aversion to persecution made him a silent and inactive member of those ecclesiastical commissions which in his own country derived credit from his name, and a sincere christian humility, joined to that dignified spirit which ruled his conduct in temporal affairs, detached him from the parties which agitated the Conclave, and besieged the Papal Throne. Thus in his own time more admired than understood; respected, but not imitated; and of habits too widely dissimilar from those of others of his own station to admit easily of comparison; it is rather his character than his history that has been transmitted to posterity. It is the common fate of good counsels that have been rejected, and of worthy examples that have been contemned, to pass in a great measure unrecorded.

The blood of the House of York flowed largely in his veins, and he was doubly related to royalty. He was the fourth and youngest son of Richard Pole, Lord Montague, cousin german to Henry

the seventh, by Margaret, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the fourth. He is said to have been born in the month of March, 1500, at Stoverton Castle, as Camden informs us, the seat of his father, in Staffordshire. Designated from his earliest infancy for the clerical profession, he was sent at the age of seven years to commence his education with the Carthusians of the monastery of Sheen, in Surrey, and afterwards to the Carmelites of the White Friars, in London, from whence, when about twelve years old, he removed to Oxford, and was entered a nobleman of Magdalen College, where he studied under those eminent scholars, Thomas Linacre, and William Latimer. It is perhaps unimportant to record those steps which may be considered as mere formalities of advancement in one whom power had predestined to fill the highest station in his profession, but we find that on the nineteenth of March, 1517, he was appointed Prebendary of Yoscomb, and on the tenth of April, 1519, of Yatminster Secunda, both in the church of Salisbury; and that he was, about the same time, Dean of Wimbourne Minster in Dorsetshire, and, shortly after, Dean of Exeter. Henry the eighth now sent him, with a large allowance, and a retinue becoming his rank, to Italy, and he settled at Padua, where he was presently surrounded by the ablest and more erudite of that country, and acquired in their society those final graces and refinements of education which even learning can never attain but in the warmth and freedom of good conversation.

Having passed seven years at Padua, Venice, and Rome, he returned home, and, remaining in the court barely long enough to receive the homage which it was eager to pay to his talents and acquirements, modestly retired to a small house at Sheen, where for two years he prosecuted his studies and devotions with severity, and bestowed his hours of relaxation on such of his old Carthusian masters as still survived. He quitted this retreat upon the first rumours of Henry's inclination to dissolve his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, to which he was utterly

averse, and, in order to avoid the necessity of giving unwelcome advice to the King, by whom he was certain to be consulted on that difficult subject, went to Paris, under the pretence of completing his studies. He was soon however followed thither by the question which Henry, by Cranmer's advice, had determined to lay before all the learned of Europe—" whether it were lawful for a man to marry the widow of a brother, to whom she had borne no issue;" and he was commanded by the King to use his best endeavours to prevail on the French Universities, particularly that of Paris, to answer negatively. He contrived to excuse himself from this employment, and, for the time, to evade giving a direct opinion. The King became displeased; and Pole's family advised him to return to England, and to that simplicity of life which might prevent suspicion. He came accordingly, after a year's absence, and resumed his former habitation at Sheen, where he had scarcely seated himself when Henry, who had now determined to sound the inclinations of the most eminent for power or learning of his own subjects on the question of his divorce, besieged him with emissaries, who pressed him vainly for his concurrence. The See of Winchester, and afterwards that of York, were offered to him as the price of his concession, but he still declined to utter any judgment on the matter, and begged only to be left in peace. His brothers were at last induced to endeavour to move him by representations of the ruin to his family that would inevitably follow his refusal, and with which they had actually been threatened, and his kind nature now gave way. He consented to wait on the King, and to dissemble those scruples which he could not abandon. In his audience he long remained mute; but at length, nobly sacrificing passion to conscience, and safety to sincerity, burst into that flow of powerful argument in which he was so great a master, and finally exhorted the King to desist from his purpose. Henry during their discourse is said frequently to have laid his hand on his dagger. Pole however escaped with no further punishment at that time than

the loss of favour, and availed himself of this precarious interval of forbearance to solicit the King's permission once more to leave the country.

He now resided for a year at Avignon, and removed from thence to his favourite Padua, where he had not long been before a messenger arrived from Henry, not only again to urge his concurrence in the divorce, but in the greater matter of the King's assumption of the supremacy. As this Prince had already denounced the penalties of high treason against those of his subjects who might oppose that act, it is clear that his meaning was now to reduce Pole to implicit obedience, or virtually to sentence him to banishment. He sent also, under the pretence of argumentative persuasion, a book which had been published in England, by Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, intituled "Oratio hortatoria ad obedientiam Regis, contra Papam." Pole, in answer, declared his total disapprobation both of the divorce, and the separation from the See of Rome, and soon after addressed to the King his large treatise, composed in four months, and subsequently published at Rome, "Pro Unitate Ecclesiasticâ," in which he not only answered the chief points of Sampson's oration, but openly exhorted Henry to return to his obedience to the Pope, and called on the Emperor Charles the fifth to resent the injury done to his aunt, the repudiated Queen. Henry, who, with all his faults, was seldom treacherous, now dissembled his anger, in the double hope of preventing the publication of this book, and of getting the person of the author into his power. He sent therefore, specially by post, a mild message, from which it might have been inferred even that his resolutions were somewhat shaken, requiring Pole to return to England, for the purpose of discussing more at large some particular passages in his treatise, which he answered by a direct refusal, and by a spirited reiteration of his former counsel. It was doubtless of that book, though Strype seems to think that it referred to some other, now unknown, that Cranmer, in a letter which may be found in the appendix to

Strype's Life of that prelate, thus expressed himself to Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire. "As concerning the Kyng his cause," says Cranmer, "Mayster Raynold Poole hathe wrytten a booke moche contrary to the Kynge hys purpose; wythe such wytte that it apperith that he myght be, for hys wysedome, of the Cownsell to the Kynge his Grace, and of such eloquence, that if it were set forthe, and knowne to the comen people, I suppose yt were not possible to persuade them to the contrary." Such was the testimony borne to the talents of this eminent person by his most determined adversary.

The King now proceeded to deprive him of his ecclesiastical preferments, and of the large pension which even to this time he had received, and soon after caused him to be proclaimed a traitor, offering a reward to any who should kill him. The favour of the Court of Rome naturally kept pace with Henry's vengeance, and in January, 1536, Paul the third created him a Cardinal, and soon after appointed him Legate to the Court of France, and afterwards, at the desire, as it should seem, of the Emperor, to Flanders. He had not been long at Paris when he was secretly informed that Henry had written to the French King to deliver him up as a rebel subject, and fled therefore precipitately to Cambray, and from thence to Liege; nor was his mission to the Low Countries more successful, for the Queen Regent, intimidated by the threats of Henry, refused to receive him in his legantine character. He was therefore recalled by the Pope, and travelled through Germany to Rome, from whence he accompanied Paul to Nice; negotiated a peace between the Emperor and Francis the first; and soon after travelled, with all possible privacy, into Spain, and from thence to Paris, to engage those Princes, and others, to abandon their designs against the Turk, and to form a league for the restoration of the ancient faith, and of the papal authority, in England. While these matters were passing, in 1539, Henry, with a savage meanness, wreaked his vengeance on the Cardinal's family. His mother, and two of his three brothers, were brought

to trial, chiefly on the charge of having corresponded with him, and condemned to die. The younger, Sir Geoffery Pole, wrought on by his fears, was induced to accuse the rest of an incredible design to depose the King, and raise the Cardinal to the throne, and received therefore a pardon ; but the Lord Montague suffered death, and his venerable mother, heir of the great House of Plantagenet, after two year's imprisonment, was also brought, at the age of seventy, to the scaffold, where, says Lord Herbert, " being commanded to lay her head on the block, she refused, saying ' so should traitors do, but I am none ;' neither did it serve that the executioner told her it was the fashion : so, turning her grey head every way, she told him, if he would have her head, to get it as he could ; so that he was constrained to fetch it off slovenly!"

Pole, overwhelmed probably by these domestic miseries, now passed some years nearly in inactivity, and the Pope, anxious to preserve him from Henry's fury, sent him to Viterbo, with the honorary character of Legate. He resided there till 1546, when on the meeting, in the beginning of January, of the Council of Trent, he was deputed thither, with two other Cardinals, to represent the Pontiff. He was obliged by ill health to leave the Council sitting, and to retire again for a time into privacy, and during that interval his great enemy, King Henry, was taken off by death. Paul the third dying in 1549, Pole was twice elected, if it may be so said, to the Popedom. He was opposed by the Cardinals in the French interest, and the first determination of the Conclave in his favour was made amidst tumult and party rage. He refused it therefore as irregular, and not sufficiently deliberate ; whereupon his friends reluctantly proceeded to a new scrutiny, and the former election was confirmed, late in the evening of the same day, by a clear majority of voices. They repaired to his apartment to notify it, and to adore him, according to the custom, but he had retired to rest. " He received them with anger," says the translator of that passage in his life, written by his friend Ludovico Baccatelli, " telling them that he would not have a

thing which was to be feared, rather than desired, carried on tumultuously and rashly, but decently and orderly: That the night was not a proper time: God was a God of light, and not of darkness; and therefore it ought to be deferred till day came." These answers were ill suited to the pride and the vivacity of Italians, and on a third scrutiny, the Cardinal del Monte was elected, and took the name of Julius the third. From that Pontiff, who was Pole's particular friend, he obtained leave to retire from all public concerns at Rome, and seems at that time to have resolved to pass the remainder of his life in a devout seclusion. He fixed his abode at a monastery, in the territory of Verona, where he remained for nearly four years, when the unexpected death of Edward the sixth drew him suddenly from his retirement.

Of Mary's attachment to that form of christianity which Pole so sincerely professed it is unnecessary to speak; and he, above all men, possessed those talents which were best calculated to aid its restoration in England. The Pope therefore, soon after the Queen's accession, nominated him Legate to her Court, and he set out towards London in the end of October, 1554. A slight and ineffectual opposition to his appointment was offered by the Emperor. Some advances had been already made towards a treaty of marriage between his son, Philip of Spain, and the Queen, but it was rumoured that she had betrayed an inclination to bestow her hand on the Cardinal, and well known that a large party in England preferred him to the Spaniard. The marriage with Philip however was soon after celebrated, and Pole arrived in London just upon the meeting of Mary's second Parliament, on the eleventh of November. One of its first acts was to reverse his attainder; the King and Queen paid him the extraordinary compliment of going in person to assent to that single bill; and the Cardinal took his seat among the Peers. In the long catalogue which history furnishes of the triumphs of worldly interests over principle and conscience perhaps no one can be found more remarkable than that which immediately followed,

and in a single hour suspended the effect of twenty-five years' labour. "A little after his coming," says the translator of Bishop Godwin's history of the reign of Mary, "both Houses being assembled, and the King and Queen being present, the Lord Chancellor having notified the Cardinal's grateful arrival, Pole himself, in his native tongue, made a long speech, full of extraordinary acknowledgements to their Majesties, to the Lords and Commons, by whose favour, his banishment and proscription being repealed, he was restored to the rights and privileges of his native country. 'And the best return,' he said, 'which in duty and gratitude he could make for so great an obligation was this—that, since by the late schism they had become exiles from the unity of the Church, and the kingdom of heaven, he would, by authority from Christ's Vicar, bring them back to the fold, and so restore them to their heavenly inheritance. Therefore he exhorted them ingenuously to acknowledge and detest the errors of the late times, and with sincere alacrity of mind to accept and retain the benefit which God, by the Vicar's Legate, offered to them; for, since he was come with the keys, to open to them the church gates, nothing now remained than, that as they had opened a way for his return, by abrogating the laws which had made him an exile, so they should abrogate all those laws too which, being lately made against the Apostolical See, wholly separated them from the body of the church.'

"After he had made a long harangue," continues the Bishop, "to this effect, and ransacked antiquity to shew how religiously their forefathers were devoted to the See of Rome, the gravity of his countenance, his smooth language, and the elegant method of his discourse, so sensibly affected the devotees of Popery that they believed themselves just then regenerated to the hopes of salvation: yet there were some of the House of Commons who strenuously opposed the submitting again to the Roman yoke; but, in fine, by the pressing instances of the King and Queen, all things were concluded to the Cardinal's satisfaction; the Pope's

former authority in this realm was restored; and the title of Supreme Head of the Church abrogated from the Crown. A petition for absolving the clergy and laity from the crime of heresy was presented by the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, to the Legate, who pronounced the absolution, in English, to all the Estates, kneeling. After this they went in procession to the Chapel Royal, singing Te Deum; and on the Sunday following the Bishop of Winchester in his sermon related the particulars of that day's proceeding."

The Cardinal's soon proved, however, a painful, and indeed but a nominal, preeminence. Mary, gloomy, morose and revengeful, and, as may be feared, in her very nature cruel, was easily led to reject the wise and temperate plans which he seems to have formed, and to set at nought those mild, as well as wise, counsels which would probably have perpetuated the Romish religion in England. Gardiner, barbarous as herself, and with powers of mind which, though of a different cast, were equal to those of Pole, obtained her ear, and laid the foundation of those measures which have rendered her name a blot on the page of history. He regarded Pole too with the jealousy of a rival, and thirsted for the Primacy, vacant by the deprivation of Cranmer, which Mary had designed for the Cardinal, and which he now held in sequestration. In the spirit of hatred which soon arose out of these causes Gardiner intrigued at Rome for the dignity of the Purple, and to induce the new Pope Paul the fourth, of the family of Caraffa, who had been always Pole's bitter enemy, to transfer the legantine character from that Prelate to himself. Gardiner however died while he was eagerly prosecuting these schemes, and three months after, on the fifteenth of February, 1556, the next day after Cranmer's execution, Pole was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. In the mean time the Pope proceeded to deprive him of the office of Legate, and invested another with that character, but Mary refused to admit him into her kingdom, and, after a sharp contest, which she maintained with a becoming

and laudable spirit, Pole was reinstated. But the hand of death then hovered unseen over the mistress and the servant. He was soon after attacked by a feverish complaint, in which he lingered for several weeks, while Mary also gradually sunk under an unknown malady. She died on the seventeenth of November, 1557, and the Cardinal, whose departure was probably accelerated by receiving the news, survived her exactly sixteen hours. He was buried with great state in the Cathedral of Canterbury, but with no other epitaph than this short inscription, "Depositum Cardinalis Poli."

The productions of Pole's pen, as might be expected, were very numerous. In addition to his book de Unitate, which has been mentioned, he addressed to Henry the eighth a defence of that work, and another to Edward the sixth. His other printed writings are "Reformatio Angliæ, ex decretis Reg. Poli"—"De Concilio"—De Baptismo Constantini Imperatoris"—"De Summè Pontificis officio et potestate," and other tracts on that subject—"Oratio in Materia de Pace"—"Oratio ad Imperatorem contra Evangelicos"—and "A Treatise of Justification," with which are printed translations of several small ancient works, chiefly on the same subject. He left also in manuscript, according to Anthony Wood—"Comment. in Esiam"—Comment. in Davidis Hymnos"—"Catechismus"—"Dialogus de Passione Christi"—"De natali die Christi"—"De modo concionandi"—A Discourse unfinished, addressed to Philip and Mary, of restoring the Goods to the Church—and three Homilies. He had likewise been for several years employed, as we learn from the same authority, in collecting with the greatest care the various readings and emendations of the text of Cicero's works, together with the critical observations of all his learned friends on that author, with the intention of publishing a complete edition. This classical curiosity is it seems totally lost, as are probably most of the rest of his unpublished works.

Engraved by E. Scriven.

AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK.

OB. 1590.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Octr. 1, 1825.

AMBROSE DUDLEY,

EARL OF WARWICK.

Eminence of consanguinity, rather than any special merit or fame of his own, beyond the quiet and unassuming recommendation of an unblemished moral character, has preserved the memory of this nobleman from a neglect perhaps approaching to oblivion. A son, and at length heir, of the mighty Duke of Northumberland; a brother of that paragon of royal favour and of wickedness, Leicester, and of the innocent and ill fated consort of Jane Grey; claimed, as it were, in their right some degree of distinction, and history has probably preserved all that could have been collected of his story. He was the fourth, but at length eldest surviving son of his father, by Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Guldeford, and was born in the year 1530, or 1531.

He is said to have manifested at an early age a passion for military fame. It is certain that he was in the expedition commanded by his father in 1549 against the Norfolk rebels, and not improbable that he owed the honour of knighthood, which he received on the seventeenth of November in that year, to some instances of that wild gallantry which in those days was esteemed the prime qualification for a soldier. He returned to the insipid life of a courtier, and we hear of him only as a partaker in tournaments and banquets till the arrest of the Duke, his father, with whom of course he had engaged in the support of Jane Grey's weak and unwilling pretensions to the Crown in July 1553. He was attainted, and received sentence of death, together with his brothers, John, Robert, and Henry, and they were confined in the Tower of London till the eighteenth of October in the succeeding year, when Mary granted him a pardon for life, permitted him to

come to Court, and received him into some degree of favour. Philip, her consort, for reasons not clearly assigned, became the patron of the crest-fallen remains of the House of Dudley. Ambrose volunteered into the Spanish army, in the Low Countries, and distinguished himself in the summer of 1557 at the celebrated battle of St. Quintin, and his younger brother, Henry, who accompanied him in the same character, fell during the siege of that place. Mary, at the King's intercession, now dispelled the cloud in which the extravagant ambition of Northumberland had involved his progeny, and in the conclusion of that year, this young nobleman, together with his surviving brother Robert, afterwards Earl of Leicester, were fully restored by an Act of Parliament.

The stupendous influence of that brother, which marked even the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, presently secured a large share of her favour to Ambrose. He obtained a royal grant of estates in Leicestershire in her first year, and in the next she appointed him Master of the Ordnance for life. These boons were presently followed by the restoration of some of his father's dignities; on the twenty-fifth of December, 1561, he was created Baron of Kingston Lisle in the county of Berks, and on the following day Earl of Warwick. It was just at this period that the great contest began in France between the Papists and the Huguenots which afterwards obtained the denomination of the war of the League. The reformers solicited the aid of Elizabeth, and offered to place in her hands one of the most considerable ports of Normandy, which they besought her to garrison with English troops. She consented, not only readily but eagerly, and Havre de Grace, generally called Newhaven by the historical writers of that time, was given up to her; Warwick was nominated to the command, with the title of the Queen's Lieutenant in the province; and, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1562, landed at Havre, with three thousand soldiers, and was with much ceremony sworn into his office.

In this command, the only arduous public service in which we find him, his conduct, equally distinguished by fidelity, prudence, and courage, amply proved his ability for the most important military undertakings. The effects of his vigilance and activity were felt in every part of Normandy, from whence, by the aid of repeated excursions from his strong-hold, he had enabled the Protestants almost wholly to expel their enemies, when he found himself suddenly abandoned by them, and discovered that they had treacherously agreed on certain terms with the Leaguers, and even engaged themselves to turn their arms against him. He now shut himself up in his garrison, having previously dismissed the French of both persuasions, and was presently invested by a powerful army, under the command of the Constable de Montmorency. Terrible hardships and calamities ensued. The spring and summer passed almost without rain; the French cut the aqueducts which supplied the town; and the soldiers were obliged to boil their miserable sustenance in sea-water, which was frequently too their only beverage. An epidemic distemper, which carried off great numbers, succeeded. At length Warwick, after having sustained with uncommon perseverance a siege not less obstinate than his defence, surrendered in the autumn of 1563, but not till he had received the Queen's especial command, and effected a most honourable capitulation. During the treaty, having appeared without his armour on the ramparts to speak to a distinguished French officer, a villain fired at him from beneath, and wounded him in the leg with a poisoned bullet, a misfortune the consequences of which during the remainder of his life probably rendered retirement almost necessary to him, and prevented his accepting favours and distinctions which he seems so well to have merited. He was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1562, and invested at Havre with the ensigns of the Order.

In 1568, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the enquiry into the great matter of the Queen of Scots, on her arrival in England; in 1569, on the occasion of the rebellion of the Earls

of Northumberland and Westmoreland, himself and the Lord Clinton were appointed, jointly and severally, the Queen's Lieutenants in the north, and the suppression of it was chiefly owing to his care and vigilance; and in the succeeding year Elizabeth conferred on him the dignified office, or rather title, of Chief Butler of England. In 1570 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and included in the number of Peers appointed by the royal commission for the trial of the Duke of Norfolk; and this, with the exception of his having been similarly employed on the trial, as it was called, of the Queen of Scots, is the last notice to be found of his interference in any matter of the State. After the conclusion of the sitting, Mary addressed herself to him as to one for whom she felt a regard, and in whom she placed some confidence. Of Elizabeth's esteem for him, or of her inclination at least to persuade him how highly she esteemed him, a fair judgment may be formed from the following postscript, in her own hand writing, to a letter from her Privy Council, written to him during the siege of Havre.

"My dear Warwick,

If your honour and my desire could accord with the loss of the needfullest finger I keep, God so help me in my utmost need as I would gladly lose that one joint for your safe abode with me; but since I cannot that I would, I will do that I may; and will rather drink in an ashen cup than you or your's should not be succoured both by sea and land, yea, and that with all speed possible; and let this my scribbling hand witness it unto them all.

Yours, as my own,

E. R."

Warwick is said to have understood and patronized the commercial and manufacturing interests of his country. Certain it is that he was much engaged in a design projected by some

London merchants for opening the trade to Barbary, which at length proved unsuccessful; and that in 1585 he obtained from the Queen an exclusive licence for two years for the exporting woollen cloths thither by some of them who had suffered the heaviest losses; but no farther inference can be drawn from those circumstances than that he himself was a party in their speculations, a condescension by no means rare among the nobility towards the conclusion of the reign of Elizabeth. Of the fact that he was a person of most unblemished conduct both in public and private life there can be no possible doubt. His character stands wholly unimpeached: even in that volume of virulent censure on the rest of his family, known by the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth," his name is never mentioned disrespectfully: In the few notices of him with which history furnishes us it is always accompanied by praise, and his popular appellation was "the good Earl of Warwick." Towards the conclusion of his life the misery of the incurable wound which he had received at Havre gradually increased, and at length became intolerable, and threatened mortification. In an unsigned letter to George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, of the fourth of February, 1589-90, the writer says—"My Lo. of Warwick is like to go. His offices are alredy nere bestowed. Grafton" (doubtless the royal honour of Grafton, which we are not elsewhere informed was held by him) "upon the Lo. Chancellor; Butlerage, upon the Lo. of Buckehurst; for the Mr.ship of the Ordynaunce my Lorde Graye and Sir John Parratt stryve." Mr. Thomas Markham, in a detail of court news to the same nobleman, of the seventeenth of that month, writes—"on Wednesdaye was sennight, as I am suer your L. hath hard, my Lord of Warwyk had his leg cutt off, since which tyme he hath amendid, but not so faste as I wolld wyshe." On the twentieth he expired at the house of his brother in law, the Earl of Bedford, in Bloomsbury, and was buried at Warwick, where a curious altar tomb was erected to his memory by his widow.

AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK.

This nobleman was thrice married; first, to Anne, daughter and heir of William Whorwood, Attorney General in the reign of Henry the eighth, by whom he had his only child, John, who died an infant before 1552. His second Lady was Elizabeth daughter of Sir Gilbert Talboys, and sister and sole heir to George, last Lord Talboys. He married, thirdly, Anne, daughter of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford.

6

Engraved by J. Thomson.

EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH.

OB. 1564.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF GUILFORD.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, June 1. 1825.

EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH.

Edward North, the founder of a house in which it is difficult to find a single individual undistinguished by wisdom or wit, or stained by any memorable fault or error, was the only son of Roger North, a younger brother of a respectable family, which had seated itself in the reign of Edward the fourth at Walkingham, in Nottinghamshire, by Christian, daughter of Richard Warcup, of Sconington, in Kent, and was born about the year 1496. He lost his father, who was in some mercantile profession, and seems to have been an inhabitant of London, in 1509, and, probably because he was too young to follow the same calling, was placed in a course of studies to qualify him for the practice of the law, which he finished at Peter-house, in the University of Cambridge. He soon acquired a considerable reputation at the bar, and was appointed, while yet a very young man, advocate for the city of London. It is very likely that his interest with that corporation might have been forwarded by an alderman of the name of Wilkinson, who had married one of his sisters; and still more probable that he was first introduced to the ministers of Henry the eighth by Thomas Burnet, Auditor of the Exchequer, who was the husband of another. However this might have been, it is certain that in 1531 he was made one of the two joint Clerks of the Parliament, an office then of such respectability that it was frequently held in that reign by men of the first rank in public employment. Four years afterwards he was called to the station of one of the King's Sergeants at law; in 1541 resigned his clerkship of the Parliament, and was appointed Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations; and in the following year was knighted, and elected a representative for the County of Cambridge.

EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH.

The Court of Augmentations was a temporary establishment instituted upon the dissolution of religious houses, and was so named from the augmentation of the income of the Crown by the assumption of their property, of all matters concerned in which it had the superintendance. The most consummate integrity, and the most vigilant application, were requisite in those who were to receive suddenly this enormous influx of various wealth, and to methodize and direct a new system of revenue. For the performance of these duties Henry chose Sir Edward North, and in 1545 nominated him to the office of Chancellor of that Court, jointly with Sir Richard Rich, on whose resignation, a few months after, the sole jurisdiction devolved on him. He was now called to the Privy Council, and distinguished by a degree of favour and confidence enjoyed by very few of Henry's servants in those years of caprice and cruelty which closed that Prince's reign. Indeed his character and temper seem to have well qualified him to deal with the extravagances of such a master, for his prudence was perhaps of the sort usually called worldly wisdom, and his compliance approached to servility; but those faults appear to have been the consequences rather of a timid than a selfish disposition, since there is good reason to believe that his public conduct was eminently disinterested, and his honesty was not only unimpeached, but unsuspected. Had his conscience been less nice, or his nature more daring, he might have amassed immense wealth: he contented himself however with the fair emoluments of his office, and with grants, comparatively to no great amount, of abbey lands. Henry left him a final token of esteem by appointing him one of the executors of his will, and a counsellor to the infant Edward.

In the short reign of that Prince he remained a wary and passive observer of the party contests by which it was agitated; and when the King's death produced a crisis in which no man of his degree could stand neuter, he espoused the pretensions to the Crown which had been forced on the unfortunate Jane Grey, and

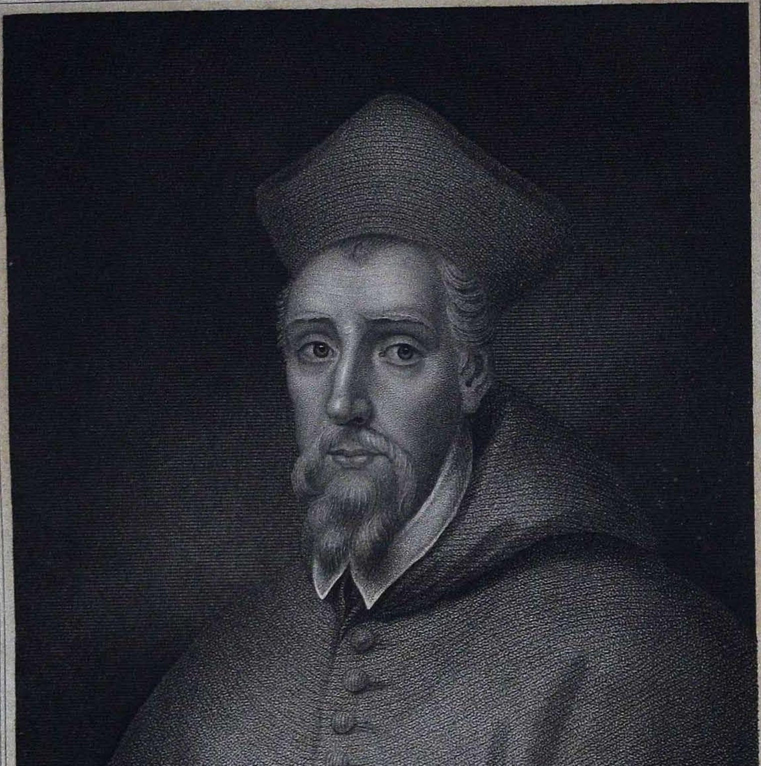
was one of the Privy Counsellors who signed a letter to Mary, declaring their allegiance to her unwilling rival. For some reason of policy however, long since forgotten, Mary, on her accession to the throne, not only received him into her Privy Council, but on the seventeenth of February, 1553, O. S. the first year of her reign, summoned him to Parliament, by the title of Baron North of Kirtling, now called Catlage, in the County of Cambridge, which till that period he had continued to represent in the House of Commons. In this and the following reigns we find him also rather in the character of a courtier than a statesman. That Elizabeth held him in some degree of favour is proved by her having conferred on him, in her second year, the office of Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely, but she employed him in no other public capacity..

He was now verging on old age, and in declining health. On the twentieth of March, 1564, O. S. he made his will, and here, as in all the rest, left abundant proof of the caution which seems to have been the leading feature of his character, by the creation of an entail, equally remarkable, considering the custom of his time in such matters, for its strictness and extent; for the terms in which it is expressed; and for his exhortations to his heir "to beware of pride, and prodigal expences." The same spirit directed him in matrimonial choice. His first wife, whom he married when a young man, was the widow of two husbands, but very wealthy; Alice, daughter of Oliver Squyer, of Southby, in Hampshire, who had been first married to Edward, son of Sir John Myrffin, an Alderman of London, and, secondly, to John Brigadin, of Southampton: His second, who survived him till 1575, was even in her third widowhood; Margaret, daughter of Richard Butler, of London; who, as we are informed by her epitaph in the chancel of St. Laurence Jewry, had been successively wife to Andrew Francis; Robert Chartsey, an Alderman; and Sir David Brooke, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. By her he had no issue; but his first Lady brought him two sons, and two daughters:

Roger, his successor, a nobleman of distinguished high spirit and bravery; and Sir Thomas, who was bred a lawyer, but is better remembered as the translator of Plutarch's Lives, Guevara's Horologium Principum, and for other literary labours. The daughters were Christian, married to William Somerset, third Earl of Worcester; and Mary, to Henry, Lord Scroope of Bolton. Lord North died, at his house in the Charter-house, London, on the thirty-first of December, 1564, and was buried in the chancel of the parish Church of Kirtling, or Catlage.

Some account of the life of this nobleman was written, "sensibly, and in a good style," as Lord Orford observes, and published by his great great grandson, Dudley, fourth Lord North. From that small work, which is composed with the pardonable partiality of a descendant, I will give a short extract, which points to the portrait here engraved, and furnishes some circumstances which ought to have a place in this memoir. "By his picture," says Dudley, "whereof there is yet a copy remaining, he appears to have been a person of a moderate stature, somewhat inclined to corpulency, and a reddish hair. As to his character, it can only appear from what has been said of him; and his letters shew he rather affected the delivery of a full and clear sense than any curiosity of style or expression. The bravery of his mind may be best judged of by his delight to live in an equipage rather above than under his condition and degree; and by his magnificence in buildings, which were very noble for materials and workmanship, as may appear by the two houses he set up at Kirtling and Charter-house. His piety, charity, and love of learning, is evident from his bestowing the parsonage of Burwell on the University of Cambridge, as also the vicarage of Burwell; and to Peterhouse, the ancientest College of that University, as a token of gratitude for what he gathered there in the way of learning, the parsonage of Ellington. He provided chapels in such houses he built, which shews a desire in him of an assiduity in the service of God by himself and family; which care of providing peculiar

places for divine service within families was too much neglected in the following age, as may be witnessed by many great and stately houses then built. He also built a chapel for the interment of his posterity, adjoining to the south part of the chancel in Kirtling Church; for, though the main superstition was expired, yet burials in those days were attended with the performance of much religious duty."



Engraved by T. A. Dean.

CARDINAL ALLEN.

OB. 1594.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE POSSESSION OF

BROWNE MOSTYN ESQ^{re}

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Sept.r 1, 1825.

WILLIAM ALLEN,

CARDINAL.

The face and the character of this remarkable person have hitherto been almost equally unknown. While he lived, and for several years after his death, to have possessed his portrait might have been deemed misprision of treason, and to have spoken favourably even of the slightest act of his life would certainly have been considered as a high misdemeanour. He was perhaps the most formidable enemy to the reformed faith, and the ablest apologist for the Romish church, that England ever produced, for he was armed at all points, either for attack or defence, and indefatigable in the prosecution of each. He was generally learned, but in sacred and ecclesiastical history profoundly; and while he reasoned with equal acuteness, boldness, and eloquence, used that urbanity of expression, so uncommon in the polemics of his time, which polishes, while it sharpens, the weapons of argument, and disarms an adversary, at least of personal enmity. He exercised in fact, though without the name, the office of vicegerent to the Pope for the affairs of his church in England; and in that character opposed, with a most honest zeal, the progress of a system which the most part of Europe then considered as a frightful schism, and which was at that time indebted for its support perhaps more to the vigilance and severity of Elizabeth's government than to the affection of its professors. But that system had already become firmly interwoven with the civil polity of England, and the most dangerous enemy to a state is he who would wound it through the shield of its religious establishment. Elizabeth, therefore, would have acted but with strict justice had she put Cardinal Allen to death, as she certainly

would, could she have got him into her power; and he would have been, as justly, canonized.

He descended from two respectable, and rather ancient, families, for he was the second son of John Allen, the elder line of whose house had been long seated at Brockhouse, in Staffordshire, by Jennet, daughter of a Lyster, of Westby, in Yorkshire. He was born at Rossall, in the latter county, about the year 1532, and became a student of Oriel College in 1547, where he was so distinguished for his talents, and for the rapidity and success of his studies, that he was within three years afterwards unanimously elected a fellow of that house, and before he had reached the age of twenty-five was chosen Principal of St. Mary's Hall, and one of the Proctors of the University. About 1558, he was appointed a Canon of York, but was scarcely fixed there when the death of Queen Mary blasted all his hopes of further preferment in his own country. He continued, however, in England till 1560, when he retired to Louvain, and fixed his residence for a time in the famous theological college there, which, since the accession of Elizabeth, had become the favourite place of refuge for those of the English Catholic divines who had the highest reputation for learning and zeal. But the passive devotions of a mere pious asylum were ill suited to the disposition of one who seemed to exist but for the service of his church: He returned, under the pretence of seeking relief in his native air from a lingering illness, and settled in Lancashire, where his endeavours to reclaim the wanderers from his profession became soon so notorious that the magistrates chased him from that county. He went then into Oxfordshire, where he not only followed the same course, but published treatises in the English language, which he had printed at Louvain,—"In Defence of the lawful Power and Authority of the Priesthood to remit sins;" "Of the Confession of Sins to God's Ministers;" and a third, intituled, "The Church's Meaning concerning Indulgences, commonly called Pope's Pardons." Such a visitor could not long

be permitted to remain near the University. He removed, doubtless under compulsion, into the neighbourhood of Norwich, where he dwelt chiefly in the house of the Duke of Norfolk, and, having composed there a strenuous defence of his church, under the title of " Certain brief Reasons concerning Catholic Faith," returned once more to Oxford, and boldly took up his residence there. His attempts, though with unabated zeal, were now more secretly practised. He ceased to publish his opinions, and contented himself with endeavouring to gain individual proselytes by the acuteness of his arguments, and the charms of his conversation. An experiment of that kind, in which he had fully succeeded, drew down on him the vehement resentment of the relations of his convert, who happened to be zealous reformers. They prosecuted him with the utmost vengeance; he found means to escape from the consequences; and quitted England, never again to return.

He fled to Flanders, and, after having resided for some time in a monastery in the city of Mechlin, removed about 1568 to Douay, where an academy had been some years before established, which had acquired considerable reputation. On that foundation he raised the college which after many vicissitudes yet subsisted there in much fame at the commencement of the accursed French revolution, when its peaceful inmates were dispersed, and it became first a military hospital, and, since, a manufactory. To this seminary, which was declaredly devoted to the reception of learned English Romanists who had fled their country for religion's sake, he gave a regular collegiate form, and procured from the Pope a yearly stipend for its maintenance. He was now appointed a Canon of the archiepiscopal church of Cambray, and, soon after, of that of Rheims, in France, where he prevailed on the great family of Guise to erect another college for the same purpose, to which he removed the members of his house at Douay, during the distraction which for a time agitated the Netherlands. He commenced also a similar foundation at Rome,

and two in Spain. All these were devoted to the education of English youth, and every sort of learning was cultivated in them to the utmost perfection of the time; but the grand and secret object of the teachers was to instruct their pupils in the religious and civil doctrines of the church of Rome; to inspire them with the most zealous and implicit veneration towards all its institutions; and so to qualify them to become, when they should return to their own country, the most effectual of all missionaries.

In spite of the personal application and activity which these objects necessarily required, it should seem that his pen too was almost incessantly employed, as well in a continual correspondence with his friends and abettors in England, as in the composition of multifarious publications which he disseminated throughout Europe with the utmost industry. Elizabeth, who held her brother sovereigns and their councils in contempt, was awed by the talents, the perseverance, and, perhaps most of all, by the sincerity of this man. He fought against her, or, in other words, against that system of faith of which she was then the life and soul, as well in the field as in the closet; for, while he opposed himself, with exquisite power of argument, to her most eminent divines, and used the sweetest persuasion to those whom he hoped to convert, the catholic soldiers and mariners of England, as well as those of Spain, went into battle with treatises in their hands which he had written for their use, and adapted to their capacities. Thus he prevailed on Sir William Stanley, and Rowland York, who commanded a body of thirteen hundred men in the low countries, to surrender to the Spaniards in 1587 the strong fortress of Deventer, and other places, with their garrisons, and, immediately after, printed a letter intituled, "Epistola de Deventriæ ditione," together with a translation into English, in which he highly commended their treachery, and incited others to imitate it. So too, in the following year, upon the sailing of the Spanish Armada, he published "A Declaration of the sentence of Sixtus the Fifth," by which that Pope had given plenary

indulgence, and pardon of all sins, to those who would assist in depriving Elizabeth of her kingdom; to which was added a supplement, most energetically conceived and written, with the title of "An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England." Elizabeth herself bore testimony to the weight and importance of this book by dispatching a minister to the Prince of Parma, Governor of the Low Countries for the king of Spain, specially to expostulate with him on the publication of it.

For these eminent services to his church, he was at length on the twenty-eighth of July, 1587, created a Cardinal Priest, and in 1589, consecrated Archbishop of Mechlin, to which latter dignity the King of Spain added the gift of a rich abbey in Naples. The utter failure of the great Spanish naval expedition, on which the Roman Catholics had founded such mighty hopes, seems to have broken his spirit. He retired to Rome immediately after that event, "under a great disappointment," says Camden, "and at length tired out with the heats and dissensions of the English fugitives, both scholars and gentlemen." That historian, zealous as he was for the reformed faith, and writing under the influence almost naturally produced by his servitude to Elizabeth, speaks of Allen with less asperity than might have been expected; while Anthony Wood, more independent, though perhaps not unjustly suspected of some leaning to the Romish church, having very fairly stated the invectives of several authors against him, adds—"Let writers say what they please, certain it is that he was an active man, and of great parts, and high prudence: that he was religious, and zealous in his profession: restless till he had performed what he had undertaken: that he was very affable, genteel, and winning, and that his person was handsome and proper; which, with an innate gravity, commanded respect from those that came near, or had to do with him." His taste in literary composition was admirable. Of his Latin little need be said. The age in which he lived was ornamented by many distinguished writers in that language, and

it would have been strange indeed had not such a man appeared in the foremost rank: but his English style was incomparable, At once dignified and simple; clear and concise; choice in terms without the slightest affectation; and full of an impassioned liveliness which rivetted the attention even to his gravest disquisitions; it stood then wholly unrivalled, and would even now furnish no unworthy model. Such however is the weakness, and it is almost blameless, of human prejudice, that the merits of the writer were condemned to share in the abomination of his doctrines, and that an example which might have anticipated the gradual progress of nearly a century in the improvement of English prose was rejected, because he who set it was a rebel and a Papist.

Cardinal Allen wrote, in addition to the works already mentioned, "A Defence of the Doctrine of Catholics concerning Purgatory, 1565;" "An Apology, and true Declaration, of the Institution and Endeavours of the two English Colleges in Rome, and at Rheims, 1581;" "Apologia pro Sacerdotibus Societatis Jesu, et Seminariorum alumnis contra Edicta Regiæ," which I have never seen, and of which the book mentioned before it was probably a translation; "Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ;" and "Piissima Admonitio et Consolatio veré Christiana ad afflictos Catholicos Angliæ;" the three last named tracts printed in one volume, 1583; and "A true, sincere, and modest Defence of the English Catholics that suffer for their Faith both at home and abroad, against a scandalous Libel, intituled the Execution of Justice in England," without date, of which a translation into Latin was published in 1584.

This very eminent person died at Rome on the 6th of October, 1594, and was buried in the chapel of the English College there.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND.

OF THIRLESTANE.

OB. 1595.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Septr. 1, 1825.

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND,

OF THIRLESTANE.

John Maitland, perhaps in all respects the most eminent of a family in which great talents and elegant genius seem to have passed almost with the regularity of hereditary succession, was the second son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland, and a Lord of Session, by Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Cranstoun. He was born, according to some accounts, about the year 1537, though the inscription on his tomb, in stating the age at which he died, fixes his birth to 1545. The latter date, however plausible the authority, is probably incorrect, for it can scarcely be believed that he should have succeeded to those offices of high trust in which we shall presently find him when he had scarcely attained to years of manhood. He was bred with much care in the study of the law, both in Scotland and on the continent, and we are told that he had passed some years in fruitless attendance at the Court when he was provided for by a grant of the Abbey of Kelso, which he afterward exchanged for the Priory of Coldingham, yet the date of the patent by which that exchange was ratified is so early as the seventh of February, 1566. On the twenty-sixth of August, in the following year, on the resignation of his father, the Privy Seal was given to him by the Regent Murray, and on the second of the succeeding June he was appointed a Lord of Session.

It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader of history that Maitland's admission into the ministry occurred at the most critical period of the reign of the celebrated Mary. She was then a prisoner in the Castle of Lochleven, and the questions of her deposition, and the advancement of her infant son to the throne,

were under discussion. His elder brother, William, at that time Secretary of State, a sketch of whose life is also given in this work, opposed those measures with the most earnest zeal; and he naturally followed the example of one to whose experience he looked for instruction, and to whom he was bound as well by ties of gratitude as of blood. Younger, however, and less artful, he sunk under the vengeance of the contrary party, while that subtle and intriguing politician was left for a time at liberty to pursue his plans. He was deprived of his offices and his benefice, and fled for security to the Castle of Edinburgh, then under the command of Kirkaldy of Grange, a firm and able supporter of Mary's interests, with whom his brother also was at length obliged to seek refuge. Here he remained till that fortress surrendered to the troops of the Earl of Morton, now Regent, when he was sent to the Castle of Tantallon, and early in the following year was removed to a less rigorous custody in the house of Lord Somerville, where he remained a prisoner till the fall of Morton, in 1581, when he was released by an order of the Privy Council.

He came again to the Court with every claim to distinction. His abilities were of the highest class; the character of his mind generous, honourable, and candid; his loyalty pure and disinterested: it had subjected him to an imprisonment of many years, during which he had seen his brother fall a victim to the public principles on which they had mutually acted. James received him with becoming gratitude. On his arrival he was appointed a Senator of the College of Justice, and, on the eighteenth of May, 1584, knighted, and placed in the office of Secretary of State, which had been so long and ably held by his brother. He now became in fact first minister of Scotland, for James, whose ripening mind discovered that he had at last obtained a servant at once wise, faithful, and moderate, held him in the most perfect confidence, while the nobility, tired of parties, and unable to subdue the storms which themselves had raised, beheld without jealousy the favour of one in whom they could

discover no disposition to mix in their intrigues, or to rival their power. He had, however, enemies. James Stuart, the first, and the most worthless, of the long series of minions by whom the Crown of his master was tarnished, not only conceived a bitter hatred against him, but inspired most of the junior branches of the House of Stuart with the same sentiment. This man, with no apparent recommendation but illegitimate descent from the blood royal, James had promoted, as it should seem by an act of insanity, from the station of Captain of his Guard to that of Lord Chancellor, with an Earldom. His power became, even in a few months, unbounded, and his fall was as sudden. He fled with terror from one of those violent attacks which public vengeance then so often produced in Scotland, aided in this instance by the secret influence of Elizabeth, and would have been scarcely again heard of had he not from his retirement accused the Secretary of being accessary to the death of Mary, and of a design to deliver up the person of the King to the Queen of England. When cited to substantiate the charges, which were universally discredited, he neither appeared, or produced witnesses; and James, having kept the office of Chancellor virtually vacant for a considerable time, in the vain hope that his dastardly favourite might return, at length bestowed it on Maitland. His patent or commission for that post is dated on the thirty-first of May, 1587.

Stuart's accusation had been in fact addressed to the royal and the popular feelings of the moment, and failed for want of the support which he expected from them. Maitland, dispassionate, impartial, and consistent, endeavoured to the last to save the unhappy Mary; but, the fatal blow having been stricken, exerted his utmost powers of persuasion to save his master from the ruinous consequences of an impotent resentment, and succeeded; and on a misconstruction of this wise policy, which to ordinary and heated minds might seem to indicate at least an indifference to her tragical fate, had Stuart hoped to insinuate that he had been a party in accelerating it. The disposition of Maitland indeed

was not less pacific than that of James, but the forbearance of the one arose from prudence; of the other from timidity. The King, therefore, was submissive only to his brother Sovereigns; the minister moderate towards all. In this spirit he undertook and accomplished the difficult task of reconciling James to the Lords who had been banished to England; and laboured incessantly, though with incomplete success, to compose the unhappy differences which, from private as well as public causes, agitated the great body of the Scottish nobility. In the same spirit too, though not without a secret affection to puritanism, he strove to persuade the King to let the monstrous insolences of the preachers of that sect to his Crown and person pass with impunity; advising him, says Spotswood, "to leave them to themselves, for they would render themselves ridiculous, by their actings, to the people; whereas his Majesty, by imprisoning of them for their undutiful speeches and behaviour, rendered them the object of their compassion." It is not surprising that James should have rejected advice at once so odious to his feelings, and of such doubtful policy.

In the memorable year, 1588, he opened the business of the Parliament which James had called to advise him on the great impending designs of Philip of Spain, with a speech so wise and patriotic, that some of the Scottish historians have preserved the substance of it much at large. He deprecated with warmth all correspondence with Philip; advised that Scotland should be put into the best state of defence; a faithful amity maintained with Elizabeth; and that the utmost military force which could be raised, and safely spared, might be sent to England, should she claim such aid. Among those, however, whom he addressed on that occasion were men not only envious of his power, but corrupted by the bribes and promises of Spain, and secretly engaged, should Philip find it convenient to his designs to land a force in Scotland, to do their best to secure a safe passage for it into the adjoining realm. At the head of these was another Stuart, the

lately created Earl of Bothwell, a man of an intriguing and restless disposition, and a most determined enemy to Maitland. Combined with the Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawfurd, he now laid a plan, if a design so extravagant can be properly so called, to seize the person of the King, or the Chancellor, or both, even in the royal palace. The execution, or rather failure, of this enterprise, is very obscurely related by the Scottish writers. We are told that the conspirators, attended by several armed men, gained admission into an apartment in which the King was conferring with Maitland, few others being present. That James, having expressed to Huntley, who headed the party, his surprise at their presence, quitted the room, and was presently after followed by the Chancellor, the intruders remaining inactive. It is declared, however, that some resolute persons then with the King, who were earnest friends to Maitland, threw themselves about his person, and guarded his retreat; and it is probable that from this shew of defence the others inferred that their design had been disclosed, and preparations made to receive them. They left the palace, seemingly panic-struck; James, after some shew of displeasure, pardoned them for the insolence which they had offered; and they retired to meditate a better digested attack.

Nor was this long deferred. In the spring of 1589 the same noblemen, instigated, say the writers of the time, by the Roman Catholic party, assembled in open insurrection at Aberdeen, when they issued a proclamation, asserting "that the King was kept a prisoner by the Chancellor, and forced, against his mind, to use his nobility with that rigour to which he was naturally averse; and requiring all the lieges to concur with them, and assist them to set his person at liberty." James raised some troops, and marched to meet them. They submitted, without striking a blow; were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty; and, after a short restraint, the King, to flatter the Catholic party, whose protection he sought against the puritans,

granted them a free pardon, Maitland, with a policy amiable in appearance, and prudent in fact, having interceded peculiarly for Bothwell.

While these matters were passing, James formed a resolution to offer his hand to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and on his return to his capital imparted it to his Privy Council, and met with a steady opposition. Elizabeth, determined to thwart every treaty of marriage that he might propose, had secretly gained over a majority of that body to her purpose, and it is impossible to remove from the character of the Chancellor a strong suspicion that he had engaged to forward her design. It is evident that James entertained that opinion, for his resentment fell on Maitland alone, and at length arose to such a height, that, having failed in all endeavours to obtain his concurrence, he condescended to employ secret agents to inflame the mob of Edinburgh against the Chancellor, and to induce them to threaten his life, should the marriage be prevented, or even delayed. In the mean time his enemies in the Court laboured incessantly in aggravating his offence, and renewing their former accusations; and he seems to have been on the point of ruin, when he extricated himself, apparently by an expedient so simple, and of such doubtful sincerity, that his restoration to favour may be more probably ascribed to the King's habitual regard for him. "The Chancellor," says Melvil, who was no friend to him, "being advertised of his Majesty's discontent and displeasure, caused it to come to his Majesty's ears that he would sail himself, and bring the Queen home with him. He forgot not to anoint the hands of some who were most familiar with his Majesty to interpret this his design so favourably that it made the King forget all by-gones; and by little and little he informed him so well of the said voyage, and the great charges he had bestowed upon a fair and swift sailing ship, that his Majesty was moved to take the voyage himself, and to sail in the same ship with the Chancellor, with great secresy, and short preparation, making no man privy thereto but such

as the Chancellor pleased, and such as formerly had all been upon his faction."

They sailed on the twenty-second of October, 1589, and returned not till the twentieth of May. Maitland, who foresaw a storm rising against him at home, availed himself of this long leisure to suggest to James, for his own protection, several novelties in the form of the Scottish government, and in the usages of the Court; meanwhile his enemies in Scotland were not idle, nor had he been able to conceal from the Queen his aversion to her marriage. Anne, on her arrival, naturally enough attached herself to the party which sought his overthrow; and the remainder of his life was passed in fruitless endeavours, by alternate menaces and concessions, to avert the reverse of fortune which seemed to await him. A faction was formed against him among the principal nobility, and the Privy Council charged him with abusing the influence which he had possessed over the King in the undue acquisition of important grants of wealth and power to himself, his family, and his adherents. James, still earnestly attached to him, had barely composed this difference with the Council, when his great enemy Bothwell, who had lately escaped from a confinement on the charge of conspiring to compass the King's death by witchcraft, again appeared in arms, and, having published a declaration of his profound loyalty, and that the removal of the Chancellor was the sole object of his enterprize, once more sought the life of that minister in the King's palace and presence. A curious detail of the minute circumstances of this attack, too long to be inserted here, may be found in the Memoirs of Sir James Melvil.

Amidst this warfare on the Chancellor, James raised him to the Peerage: On the eighteenth of May, 1590, he received the title of Baron Maitland of Thirlestane, in Berwickshire. Armed with this proof that he yet enjoyed no small share of royal favour, he seems now first to have courted popularity. He resigned the office of Secretary, his long occupation of which together with the

great post of Chancellor had excited much disgust, and soon after prevailed on the King to pass that important statute by which the discipline and jurisdiction of the Kirk were finally legalized and confirmed in 1592. These conciliations had scarcely been offered when he gave a new offence to the Queen by retaining the possession of an estate which she claimed as a member of the Abbey of Dumfermline, presented to her by the King on their marriage, though Maitland had possessed the lands in question long before that marriage had been even meditated. She now raised a new faction against him in the Court, and he retired, broken down with vexations and disappointments, as well in his private as public affairs, to the country, where he remained most of the year 1593. At length, willing to make a final effort, he resigned the estate; was reconciled, and graciously received by her; and, in endeavouring to ensure her future good will, unfortunately lent his aid to an intrigue by which she sought to detach the Prince, her son, from the custody of the Earl of Mar, in which, by the single authority and special preference of the King, the infant had been placed. James, suddenly apprised of this scheme, fell into a transport of anger unusual to him. He reprehended the Chancellor with the utmost bitterness; charged him with treachery and ingratitude; and left him hopeless of pardon. He now retired, never to return. On arriving at his seat at Lauder, where he had built a magnificent mansion, he was seized by a fatal illness. James relented, and a letter from him, which the Chancellor received on his death bed, is still extant, and bears a pleasing testimony to the tenderness of the monarch's disposition. He died on the third of October, 1595, seemingly of the too common disease called a broken heart, and was buried at Haddington, under a magnificent tomb, which displays an epitaph in English verse, from the hand of his royal master.

The Chancellor Maitland occasionally relieved his severer studies by poetical composition, some specimens of which have been preserved. A satire written by him, "Aganis Sklanderous

Toungis," has been published by Mr. Pinkerton; and several of his epigrams may be found in "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum." He married Jane, only daughter and heir of James, fourth Lord Fleming, (who remarried John Kennedy, fifth Earl of Cassilis) and had issue by her John, who succeeded to his dignity, and was in 1624 created Viscount and Earl of Lauderdale; and a daughter, Anne, married to Robert Seaton, second Earl of Wintoun.

Engraved by W. Freeman.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

OB. 1601.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HILLIARD, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF VERULAM.

Published by Harding and Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Novr 1, 1825.

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX;

THAT incomparable Essex, who was the second Earl of his family; the great favourite of Elizabeth, and of England; the admiration and the regret of Europe. In an age certainly inquisitive; at least pretending to exquisite taste and judgment; and peculiarly distinguished by its incessant and various employment of the press; it is astonishing that no regular and detailed celebration should have been dedicated to the memory of this very extraordinary man. We have been gorged, even to disgust, with tedious pieces of unmerited biography, and the actions and motives of plodding statesmen, insignificant courtiers, and rebels who resembled Essex in nothing but in their rank and their punishment, have been sifted and analysed with the most insufferable minuteness; while a thousand inestimable memorials of a character the exquisite perfections and errors of which were almost peculiar to itself, have been suffered to remain scattered and unconnected on the pages of history, or buried in undisturbed manuscript. How can we account for this omission? Have fear and modesty deterred modern biographers from venturing on a task to perform which worthily the pen must sometimes be dipped in the softest milk of human kindness, and sometimes into the burning fermentation of furious passions; or must we ascribe it to a submission, less excuseable, to the depraved taste of a time in which history is chiefly devoted to the discovery of political analogies, and to the suggestion of party arguments? The narrow compass to which these essays are limited prohibits the author from an attempt in which he could have but little chance of success. He must confine himself here to a mere recital of

circumstances. But it were earnestly to be wished that some one in whom delicate feeling is united to acute judgment; who could form a fair estimate of admirable merits and of venial imprudences; who may be qualified by an extensive knowledge of the history of the human heart as well as of his country, would write a life of the Earl of Essex.

He was the son of Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, &c. who had been created Earl of Essex by Elizabeth, in 1572, and whose portrait, with a sketch of his life and character, may be found elsewhere in this work. His mother was Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, K. G. a relation, at no great distance, to Anne Bullen, the Queen's mother; and Robert, the elder of their two sons, was born at the Earl's seat of Netherwood, in Herefordshire, on the tenth of November, 1567. His childhood was undistinguished by any promise of more than ordinary parts. We are told indeed by Sir Henry Wotton, who may be said to have studied the history of the family, that his father had formed a very mean judgment of his understanding, and directed his attention therefore chiefly to the improvement of Walter, his younger son. Robert had not attained his tenth year when he succeeded to the honours and estates of his family. His father had committed him to the care of persons of uncommon wisdom and worth. Burghley was his guardian, and the severely virtuous Sussex, in discharge of a promise to the Earl on his death-bed, his firm friend. Sir Edward Waterhouse, a man perhaps equal to them in talents, as he certainly was in honour and integrity, personally superintended his affairs, and watched over his conduct with a vigilance which was sweetened, as well as strengthened, by the most earnest affection, for Waterhouse had been entirely beloved and trusted by the deceased Earl, and entered on his charge with a heart overflowing with kindness and gratitude. Towards the end of the year 1578, the young Essex, by the direction of Lord Burghley, became a student of Trinity College, in Cambridge. Whitgift, afterwards Primate, who was then

master of that house, undertook the direction of his education, and here the character and powers of his mind were presently unfolded: his obedient application to the severer orders of learning was not less remarked than his attachment to more polite studies, and he was distinguished for an elegance and fluency of composition of which his time afforded few instances. His manners were peculiarly engaging; his temper mild, compliant, and marked by a graceful seriousness which approached to melancholy; his moral conduct stained by no vice, and becomingly tinctured with dignity. He remained in the University till 1582, when he took the degree of Master of Arts, and soon after went into South Wales, where he resided in one of his family mansions, and became, says Wotton, so enamoured of a rural life, that it required much persuasion to withdraw him from his retirement.

In 1584 he came at length to Court, introduced and patronized by his father-in-law, Leicester, who was then in the zenith of his power. It had been strongly rumoured that Leicester caused the late Earl's death by poison. He had married the widowed Countess with indecent haste, and perhaps now sought to lessen the suspicion under which he laboured by thus publicly professing his affection for the son. It has been said that Essex was inclined to reject his proffered friendship; we find, however, that in the succeeding year he accompanied Leicester, then appointed Captain-general in the Low Countries, to Holland, where though little more than eighteen years old, he received the commission of General of the Horse. He was distinguished in that campaign by his personal bravery, especially in the battle of Zutphen, and on the twenty-seventh of December, 1587, shortly after his return, was suddenly elevated to the dignified post of Master of the Horse. In the following year, when Elizabeth assembled an army to await at the mouth of the Thames the aweful attack threatened by Spain; when superior military skill, to direct the bravery of her troops, was perhaps even more important than

the wisdom of her ministers to the support of a crown which was then thought by many to totter on her head; she chose this youth to command her horse, and decorated him with that splendid order of knighthood which she had frequently denied to the best and the noblest of her old servants. Thus far he seemed to common observers to have been borne forward on the wing of Leicester's power, or rather till this period had Elizabeth been able to conceal that extravagant partiality which presently after astonished all Europe, and still remains perhaps the most remarkable paradox in English history.

Leicester died in the autumn of that year, and Essex instantly rose to a measure of favour which that extraordinary man, whose influence over the Queen had been so long envied, never enjoyed. It was unsought by himself. It pursued him. It seemed even to molest him, by interrupting the course of his inclinations, and confining his ardent and independent spirit to spheres of action which, though the amplest that a monarch could offer, were too narrow for its rapid and eccentric range. Even so early as the spring of 1589 he fled, unpermitted, from the Court, and sailed to Portugal with Norris and Drake, a volunteer in the expedition then undertaken for the restoration of Don Antonio to the throne of that kingdom. The degree of anger to which Elizabeth was provoked by this extravagant step, and by his disobedience to a previous summons, may be best inferred from the letter by which she commanded his instant return.

"Essex,

"Your sudden and undutiful departure from our presence, and your place of attendance, you may easily conceive how offensive it is, and ought to be, unto us. Our great favours bestowed upon you, without deserts, hath drawn you thus to neglect and forget your duty, for other construction we cannot make of these your strange actions. Not meaning therefore to tolerate this your disordered part, we gave directions to some of our Privy Council, to let you know our express pleasure

for your immediate repair hither, which you have not performed, as your duty doth bind you, increasing thereby greatly your former offence, and undutiful behaviour, in departing in such sort without our privity, having so special offices of attendance and charge near our person. We do therefore charge and command you forthwith upon the receipt of these our letters, all excuses and delay set apart, to make your present and immediate repair unto us, to understand our farther pleasure; whereof see you fail not, as you will be loth to incur our indignation, and will answer for the contrary at your uttermost peril.

The 15th. of April, 1589."

Essex at length presented himself, and these threats were revoked. He returned not to enquiry and punishment, but to renewed grace. The gallantry with which he had fought in every action during his absence, was thrown by Elizabeth into the scale of his merits, and the counterpoise forgotten. Elizabeth admired brave men; and yet it has been observed that when, about this time, Essex, in a sudden fit of jealousy of her favour, had affronted Sir Charles Blount, afterwards Lord Montjoy, because he had decorated his person with a jewel which the Queen had given to him, and had been therefore challenged, and wounded in a duel, by that gentleman, she swore, with great seeming wrath, that "unless some one or other should take him down, there would be no ruling him." There can be little doubt that this speech was meant to disguise her real sentiments. Such a favourite as Essex could not have offended a woman of her character by contending for her good graces. His marriage however, which shortly followed these events, did indeed provoke her resentment to the utmost; but here too the same feelings led her to dissemble: She ascribed her anger to the alledged inequality of the match, by which she alledged that the honour of the Earl's house was degraded—degraded by his having married the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and relict of Sir Philip Sidney!

In 1591 he was appointed to the command of a force of four thousand troops, sent by Elizabeth to assist Henry the fourth of France in the siege of Rouen. The object of this expedition was wholly disconcerted by the tardy co-operation of the French. Essex however distinguished himself by a chivalrous gallantry in many skirmishes, and, after an absence of some months, returned, highly disgusted because the greatest captain of the age had declined his advice on a military question. He was received with unabated kindness by the Queen, who now admitted him into her Privy Council, but it is at this period, as perhaps might naturally be expected, that historians have dated the commencement of his discontents. His captivating talents, his unbounded liberality, his courtesy, and his courage, had rendered him the idol of all warm and generous hearts; while the selfish and the needy crowded round him, and loaded him with adulation, in the hope of sharing the fruits of his unbounded influence over Elizabeth. The younger nobility, and the military, looked up to him with mixed motives of affection and interest, and considered him at once their example and their patron; the puritans, now becoming a formidable body, arrogantly claimed his protection as a duty which had devolved on him from his father-in-law, Leicester, who had openly favoured their doctrines and their pretensions; and the disaffected of other classes courted him with unceasing assiduity, in the view of some time availing themselves of that discord with the Queen or her servants, into which the simplicity of his heart, and the eagerness of his temper, were so likely to betray him. This enormous popularity at length excited in secret the fears of Elizabeth, and increased the jealousy already raised in the breasts of her ministers by the favours that she had bestowed on him. She sought to avert her danger by furnishing incessant employment to his activity and love of glory, and they laboured to drive him to desperation by schemes to render his services abortive.

These passions were beginning to operate when, in June 1596,

he undertook, jointly with the High Admiral Howard, the command of the expedition to Cadiz. The particulars of this, and of his excursions in the succeeding year, are so largely given by our historians that it would be impertinent to repeat them here. It is worthy however of observation that in the former his opinion was always uniformly rejected, save only as to the proper moment for attacking the Spanish Fleet in the harbour, the Admiral's concession to which was so joyfully received by him, that, in an extacy, he threw his hat into the sea. The Island voyage, as it was called, of 1597, in which he acted as commander in chief both of the army and fleet, was unhappily distinguished by his differences with Raleigh, who served as Rear Admiral, the origin and circumstances of which have been variously and even contradictorily represented by different writers; and yet, amidst this confusion, strong grounds appear to suspect Raleigh of a premeditated design to prevent the success of the enterprise. Essex, on his arrival from Cadiz, had been better received by the Queen than by her ministers, whom he found inclined to censure every part of his conduct in the expedition. He published therefore a narrative of it, more remarkable for sincerity than prudence, in which, as has been well observed, "he set down whatever was omitted in the prosecution of it, and then, by way of answer to those objections, imputed all miscarriages to other men; by which he raised to himself many implacable enemies, and did not gain one friend." In the mean time his attempts to use his influence for the service of his friends, which indeed seems to have been the end to which he wished always to apply it, were constantly thwarted. He was now deeply mortified, and Elizabeth, who seems to have shared in his chagrin, endeavoured to console him by a gift for life of the post of Master of the Ordnance, to which, he was appointed on the nineteenth of March, 1597. New causes, however, of dissatisfaction arose. During his absence on the Island voyage the Admiral, Howard, had been created Earl of Nottingham, and in his patent the reduction of Cadiz was

ascribed to his good service. This affront, as Essex, and perhaps rightly conceived it, together with his vexation at the moderate success of that expedition, produced in him a disgust which became publicly visible. On his return, he retired to the country, and, according to the fashion of that time, pleaded illness to excuse his attendance in Parliament, which was then sitting. Elizabeth again interfered to appease him, and on the twenty-eighth of December, 1597, raised him to the splendid office of Earl Marshal of England.

His services, or rather his endeavours to serve, were now transferred to the Council, and he appeared in the character of a statesman, for which he possessed every qualification but patience. Here he opposed with equal vehemence and good argument the proposals offered in May, 1598, for a treaty of amity with Spain. On this great topic he engaged in disputes with the Treasurer, Burghley, which rose to such warmth that Burghley, at the council table, drew a prayer book from his bosom, and prophetically pointed out to the Earl this passage—"Men of blood shall not live out half their days." Peace was determined on; and Essex, in his dread of being misrepresented, to the abatement of that popularity his affection to which was his greatest fault and misfortune, immediately composed his "Apology against those which falsely and maliciously take him to be the only hindrance of the peace and quiet of their country, addressed to his friend Anthony Bacon." This exquisite example of his talents and integrity, as well as of the purity and elegance of his style, infinitely valuable too as it exhibits a sketch by his own hand of the circumstances of his public conduct to that period, was soon after printed, doubtless at least with his concurrence, to the great offence of the Queen. Burghley, his ancient guardian, whose power had in some measure warded off the attacks of his enemies, and to the wisdom and kindness of whose advice his impetuosity had frequently submitted, died while Essex was preparing his Apology, and he fell into new errors and excesses. Among these

the most remarkable occurred in his memorable and well-known quarrel with Elizabeth on the choice of a Governor for Ireland, which terminated on his part with the grossest personal insult ever offered by a subject to a sovereign, and on hers by manual chastisement. He fled to hide his rage in the most obscure retirement, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could be prevailed on to acknowledge his fault. The wise and worthy Lord Keeper Egerton, in addressing to him a long letter of gentle remonstrance, uses these persuasions—"If you still hold this course, which hitherto you find to be worse and worse, (and the longer you go the further you go out of the way) there is little hope or likelyhood the end will be better. You are not yet gone so far but that you may well return. The return is safe, but the progress is dangerous and desperate in this course you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themselves; your friends you leave to scorn and contempt. You forsake yourself, and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation. You give that comfort and courage to the foreign enemies as greater they cannot have; for what can be more welcome and pleasing news than to hear that her Majesty and the realm are maimed of so worthy a member who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forsake your country when it hath most need of your counsel and aid; and, lastly, you fail in your indissoluble duty which you owe unto your most gracious Sovereign; a duty imposed on you, not by nature and policy only, but by the religious and sacred bond wherein the Divine Majesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianity obliged you."

Essex's reply presents perhaps the truest picture extant not only of his natural but of his political character: of the grandeur of his mind, and of the tyranny of his passions; of his habitual loyalty, and his republican inclinations. In this admirable letter we find the following vivacious expressions of defiance—"When the vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion

inforce me to sue? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot Princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my Lord; I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken. Let those that mean to make their profit of Princes shew to have no sense of Princes' injuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth that do not believe an infinite absoluteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong; I feel it: My cause is good; I know it: and, whatsoever comes, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength or constancy in oppressing than I can shew in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed on me." He was at length persuaded to make a proud submission, and was again received into Elizabeth's favour, which seemed even yet to have been but little impaired.

The affairs of Ireland appear indeed to have been at that time Essex's favourite political study. He had frequently, in the debates of the council, complained of an unreasonable parsimony with which he charged the Ministers in the government of that country, and of restrictions by which they had long fettered the faculties of the Queen's Deputies. His enemies determined to avail themselves of this disposition, and to tempt him by an offer of that important and honourable post, with unusually enlarged authority, and the command of a more numerous army than had ever been sent thither. To conquer rebellious factions; to civilize a people at once barbarous and generous; to administer strict justice through the means of absolute power; were noble objects in the view of one whose character united with a haughty and courageous spirit the mildest humanity, and the most exalted moral principles. Prudence too, if he ever used it, now perhaps reminded him that anger is best cooled by absence, and that past errors are frequently forgotten in the grateful sense of new services. He accepted the office however with reluctance and disgust, unless we are to consider the following exquisite little

epistle to Elizabeth, which is said, I know not on what ground, to have been written between the dates of his appointment and his departure, merely as a general appeal to her feelings, and a strong effort to regain the fulness of her favour, for which he made his commission to Ireland the pretext.

"From a mind delighting in sorrow; from spirits wasted with passion; from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travel; from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive; what service can your Majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the cursedest of all islands? It is your rebels' pride and success must give me leave to ransom myself out of this hateful prison; out of my loathed body; which, if it happen so, your Majesty shall have no cause to mislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you."

"Happy he could finish forth his fate
In some unhaunted desart, most obscure
From all society, from love and hate
Of worldly folk; then should he sleep secure;
Then wake again, and yield God ever praise;
Content with hips, and haws, and brambleberry,
In contemplation passing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts, to make him merry:
Who when he dies his tomb may be a bush,
Where harmless Robin dwells with gentle Thrush."

Your Majesty's exiled servant,

Robert Essex."

On the twenty-seventh of March, 1599, he left London, on his way towards Ireland, to the great joy of those who had thus freed themselves of his unwelcome presence to place him amidst perils which they well knew how to increase. Their efforts however were needless. The short term of his government was a tissue of imprudence, confusion, and misfortune. He passed the first

two months in making journeys of observation, and plans for action, and laid the fruits of those labours before the Queen at large in a letter of consummate ability. Elizabeth slighted his opinions, and blamed his conduct in the very first military enterprize which he undertook. During the irritation produced by these crosses, a large body of his troops was worsted by the Irish, and he punished the remainder of the detachment, contrary to his nature, with a frightful severity. He undertook an unsuccessful expedition contrary to the Queen's express order to march his army into another province, and afterwards, in obeying that order, was yet more unfortunate. He demanded reinforcements, and obtained them; marched in person, at the head of his main army, to attack the rebels, under the command of Tir-oen; and, without striking a blow, concluded a disgraceful treaty with that chieftain. His incessant reflection at that period on the designs of his enemies in England seems to have been either the cause or the consequence of a degree of actual insanity which never after left him. He formed a serious resolution to return with his army, and to employ it in subduing them, and it was with much difficulty that some of his dearest friends succeeded in dissuading him from that monstrous attempt. Shortly after, on receiving a reproachful letter from the Queen, he suddenly quitted Ireland, almost alone, and, travelling with the utmost speed, appeared most unexpectedly in her presence at Nonsuch on the twenty-eighth of September, 1599, and implored her to listen to his apology.

Elizabeth was touched by the singular character of this appeal, which once more excited in some degree her tenderness, while it flattered her pride. Essex, once so beloved; whose disobedience she had threatened with condign punishment; whose rebellious resistance she had been taught to anticipate; instead of persisting in his contumacy; or standing aloof to treat for pardon; or employing friends to intercede on his behalf; had fled from an army which adored him, and crossed the sea, to throw himself

singly on her mercy and her wisdom. She received him with complacency, and admitted him to a long conference, in the conclusion of which she commanded him not to quit his apartment in the Court, and soon after committed him to an honourable, though close, confinement in the house of the Lord Keeper. It is more than probable that, had matters been left wholly to her undisturbed decision, he might even now have escaped with very light penalties, but another powerful passion had been awakened in her breast, and, terrified at the representations which were every hour laid before her of the dangers to be apprehended from his popularity and his violence, she consented at length to leave his case to the Privy Council, before which it had been somewhat agitated immediately after his arrival. He had remained long a prisoner, still occasionally encouraged, and with Elizabeth's connivance, to hope that no more was intended than to humble his spirit, and that he might be again restored to her grace; till, on the fifth of June, 1600, he was brought publicly before the Council, and, after an examination of eleven hours, for the most part of which he was kept kneeling, it was determined that he should be deprived of his seat in that body, and of all his offices, except that of Master of the Horse, and should remain in custody during the Queen's pleasure. He was finally enlarged on the twenty-seventh of the following August, and retired to one of his seats in the country.

The die was now cast. Essex considered his situation to be desperate, and that conceit effectually rendered it so. In the beginning of the winter he returned to London, and his house became not only the resort but the residence of the idle, the profligate, and the disaffected, of all ranks. Cuffe, who had been his secretary in Ireland, a man of considerable talents, rendered useless, or worse, like his own, by an impetuous temper, undertook to execute his plans, if they deserved to be so called. Few circumstances of our history are better known than those which compose the sad sequel of Essex's story. He seems to have

conceived the extravagant, and indeed utterly impracticable, design of working simultaneously on the affection and the fears of Elizabeth. Declaring his profound loyalty, and the most earnest personal regard, he armed his little band professedly to force her to hear his grievances, and to dismiss her servants. Terrified perhaps, but still interested in his favour, instead of employing the ample means to reduce him which were in her power, she ordered that he should be summoned before her Council, and he disobeyed. The next morning she sent the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chief Justice, and others of the Council, to his house, to receive his complaints, and he imprisoned them. He then sallied forth, at the head of his adherents, and sought ineffectually for volunteers in the city; returned by the river, and fortified his house; and, when no means remained to save him from the perdition to which he seemed to have devoted himself, was at length proclaimed a traitor, besieged, and taken prisoner. These strange circumstances occurred on the seventh and eighth of February, 1601, N. S. and on the nineteenth he was brought to his trial before the Peers, and condemned to die. Of his treason there could be no doubt, for it had been committed in the sight of thousands; but for his motives, saving the simple impulses of a most fiery and imprudent spirit, we can look only to his own declaration, that his first object was to gain access to the Queen's person, and his final view, to the establishment of the succession in the King of Scots, for the charge preferred against him of a secret design to set up a claim to the Crown on his own part, in right of a remote maternal descent from the House of York, is utterly incredible. The Queen, was anxious to the last to spare his life. Of the well known, but weakly authenticated, tale of the Countess of Nottingham, and the ring, with which many writers have been fond of amplifying the last scene of this tragedy, I will say nothing; we have otherwise sufficient proof that Elizabeth at length gave way to the importunities of her ministers with the utmost reluctance, and signed the warrant for

his execution amidst a dreadful conflict of tenderness, resentment, and terror. He suffered death on the sixth day after his trial with a piety not less modest than fervid, and a magnanimity at once calm and heroic.

Of all eminent historical characters that of Essex has generally been deemed the most difficult to be justly estimated. Rare and singular indeed was its construction, but surely not mysterious. The faults of those who deserve to be called good and great usually spring from an exuberance of fine qualities. All the errors of this extraordinary person may be traced to the warmth of his heart, or the noble simplicity of his mind; to his courage, to his friendships, to his exact sense of honour, or his exalted love of truth. With these virtues, joined to admirable talents, he was perhaps the most unfit man living to be trusted with the direction of important affairs, either civil or military, for his candour disqualified him for the cabinet, and his rashness for the field. He weighed the purity of his intentions against the motives of other public servants with accuracy and justice, and the disdain with which he proclaimed the result rendered them his mortal enemies; but he rated his services, and perhaps his powers, too highly; and hence his frequent quarrels with Elizabeth, the enormous extent of whose favour and bounty he seems never to have considered as commensurate to his deserts: His occasional insolence to that Princess was therefore the issue of pride, and not of ingratitude. His resentments were marked by a petulance somewhat inconsistent with genuine dignity, and his friendships were not always worthily placed; but he was not capricious, for his affections and his aversions were unalterable, and he was incapable of disguising either sentiment: in following the dictates of the one, his liberality knew no bounds: in the gratification of the other, his generosity was never sullied by a single instance of private revenge. His domestic conduct seems to have been unexceptionable: In his hours of retirement his impetuosity was soothed by the consolations of sincere piety, and conscious

innocence; by the love of his family, and his dependants, who idolized him; by the temperate charms of refined conversation and reflection. In the humble sincerity of his dying confession he had no moral offences to avow but certain amorous frailties of his youth.

His understanding was of the sort which usually accompanies acute feelings; quick, penetrating, and versatile; admirable in its conceptions, but of uncertain execution; sometimes approaching, sometimes out-reaching, but seldom resting at, that sober and wary point of judgment which in worldly affairs is dignified by the title of wisdom. His acquirements were infinitely varied and extended. It will appear on an examination of those of his writings which have been fortunately left to us that his studies, or rather his perceptions, had embraced every usual object of human science. His powers of expression were equal to the measure of his knowledge: indeed he was incomparably the first English prose writer of his time, and it has been lately discovered that in Latin composition he fell nothing short of the best classical models. The present age too, busy in such researches, has brought to light several poems, of various characters, which reflect a new and unexpected lustre on his genius. Such was the man, and so designed by nature to inform, to improve, and to delight, society, whom his own ambition, and Elizabeth's folly, misplaced in the characters of a statesman, a general, and a courtier.

On the extravagance of the Queen's attachment to this nobleman, and the motives by which it was dictated, it is unnecessary here to dilate. Lord Orford, in his "Royal and noble Authors," has treated at large of those matters, with such acuteness of reasoning, and such extent of historical knowledge, that any further endeavour to elucidate that singular subject would be vain and presumptuous. I shall therefore only add that the Earl of Essex married, as has been before stated, Frances, daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip

Sidney, by whom he had an only son, Robert, who was the last Earl of the family of Devereux; and two daughters; Frances, married to William Seymour, Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset; and Dorothy, wife, first to Sir Henry Shirley, of Stanton Harold, in Leicestershire, Bart., secondly, to William Stafford, of Blatherwick, in the county of Northampton.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

It has been an inveterate fashion to place this Princess in the class of wise monarchs. Whether this has been founded on an impartial and judicious examination of her character, or on the report of certain great authorities, to whose sincerity as well as judgement a ready credit has been given, may be, however, fairly questioned. Henry the fourth of France, who, it should be recollected, anxiously sought her friendship, professed a high respect for her talents, and took care to make it known to her; and the acute but eccentric Sixtus the fifth regretted that his vow of celibacy excluded him from the possibility of an union with her, the issue of which he said would have been naturally qualified to govern the world. Another great person, of equal fame with these, and I think of equal rank, answered to one who was inclined to depreciate the powers of her mind, and to ascribe the success and glory of her reign to the sagacity of her counsellors, by asking "whether he ever heard of a weak Prince who chose wise ministers?" a remark, by the way, not very applicable to her, who had but the negative merit of retaining in office those who had been chosen by her father and brother. A few such testimonies and smart sayings from such sources would be at all times sufficient to fix the opinions of those who read history for amusement, that is to say of nearly the whole of mankind. It may seem bold to declare that the history of Elizabeth's reign furnishes no substantial evidence that she possessed remarkable talents, either solid or brilliant. She had however violent passions, and the sudden bursts of these will frequently be mistaken by the multitude for proofs of exalted talent. Her's were all of the unamiable order, but their baleful effects were generally neutralized by counteraction on each other. Thus it was her timidity

that prevented her from emulating the horrible tyranny of her father, and her pride that saved her from the disgrace of open profligacy. We seek in vain through the whole of her life for instances of generosity, benevolence, or gratitude, those bright jewels of a crown which Princes to whom nature has denied them have generally been prudent enough to counterfeit.—But we must hasten to our brief compilation, and leave these few remarks to the censure which may await them. They will not be popular, but it will be difficult to contradict them.

Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the eighth and Anne Bullen, was born at Greenwich on the seventh of September, 1533. The frantic despotism of her father surrounded her very cradle with terrors, and planted with thorns her path to womanhood. The imperfect divorce of Catherine of Arragon, and the vote of a servile Parliament, had invested her with a factitious and doubtful right to the inheritance of the crown, of which the speedily succeeding alledged infidelity and attainder of her mother, followed by another specific act of the same body, legally deprived her. Mary, her paternal sister, was living, with pretensions which, although they had been in a great measure similarly annulled, furnished ample ground for discord and competition. The birth of a Prince, afterwards Edward the sixth, as it seemed to settle, though to their mutual prejudice, the succession to the Throne, gave them a chance of safety; but Henry and his obedient Parliament, soon after that event replaced them in the order of inheritance, and he specially recognised their right in his will. These dispositions however, powerful as they may seem, were insufficient to remove the prejudices which had arisen out of the confusion that he had previously created, and the premature death of Edward produced a jealousy between the sisters in which Elizabeth, though too young to appear an active party, was old enough to become an object of persecution.

She had been placed after the decease of her father under the care and in the mansion of his widow, Catherine Par, who

presently, with unbecoming haste, took the Lord Admiral Seymour, brother to the Protector Duke of Somerset, for her fourth husband. The extravagant ambition of this nobleman undoubtedly suggested to him the idea of gaining Elizabeth's hand, and the means through which he endeavoured to accomplish his purpose were such as might have been expected from his impetuous and unprincipled character. He sought by the baseness of personal seduction to gain that absolute controul over her mind with which her fears of discovery, or her affection, or both, could scarcely have failed to invest him. Of his success in this detestable part of his plan we are of course ignorant, but it appears that Elizabeth regarded him at least with complacency. The singular circumstances of their intercourse were at length made known to Edward's ministers; the young Princess was hastily removed; and a careful inquiry was instituted, many curious documents relative to which are preserved in Haynes's fine collection of Cecil Papers.

The uncertainties and vicissitudes of her youth had not interrupted the regularity of her education. Her surprising facility in the acquisition of languages is commemorated in terms even of rapture in the Latin epistles of her tutor, Ascham. This faculty, and her regular profession of the reformed faith, increased the favour which the tender nature of her brother, the admirable Edward, had always extended to her, and they seem to have been much together after she left the Queen Dowager, and are said to have derived mutual improvement from the joint prosecution of their studies. Edward however was prevailed on, in the feebleness of his last hours, to dispose of the crown to the exclusion of both the Princesses, and in the short contest, if it deserve that name, between Mary and Jane Grey, we are told that Elizabeth raised, we are not informed how, nor is it easy to conceive, a thousand horse for the aid of her sister's cause. She was received therefore with distinction and smiles at the new court; but a secret jealousy lurked in the bosom of Mary. She saw in

Elizabeth a rival, not only in regal claim, but in love, for the Queen had certainly meditated to marry the unfortunate Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, who on his part was enamoured, with what return we know not, of her sister. The first act of Mary's first parliament, by decreeing the validity of the marriage of her father and mother, and annulling the sentence of their divorce, virtually reduced Elizabeth again to the condition of a bastard; and that she might have no room to doubt that such was the Queen's interpretation of it, she was presently after placed in the court ceremonial beneath the descendants of her father's sisters. This proof of Mary's aversion was followed by numerous slights and affronts, which at length becoming intolerable, Elizabeth obtained permission to retire into the country, where however she is said to have been closely watched by two trusty servants of the Crown, whom she had been obliged to accept as principal officers of her household. But the tranquillity of her retreat was of short duration. She was accused, certainly with little probability, of having been privy to Sir Thomas Wyat's insurrection; was recalled to the Court when in a state of severe illness, strictly examined by the Council, and, after several days, permitted to return; again seized on some new suspicions, and conducted to Hampton Court as a state prisoner, and from thence to close confinement in the Tower of London.

It is remarkable that at this seemingly hopeless period two bills brought into Parliament by her bitter enemy, Bishop Gardiner, the one expressly declaring her illegitimacy, and incapacity to inherit the Crown, the other to enable the Queen to appoint her successor, should have been rejected by large majorities. Mary became alarmed at this unexpected opposition to her will in so important a quarter; the rigour of the Princess's imprisonment was presently abated, and she was soon after conducted to the palace of Richmond, where she was offered her liberty if she would accept the hand of the Duke of Savoy. It is probable that to this condition was annexed some proposal

tending to an abandonment of her claim to the English Crown, for she refused it with a magnanimous perseverance. She was now transferred to Woodstock, and again confined with some severity, and thus she remained till the marriage of her sister to Philip of Spain, when that Prince, among other endeavours to gain popularity with his new subjects, procured her release, at least from the rigours of her captivity, but she was yet watched with the closest attention. The resentment and jealousy of the Queen however gradually abated, and the humility of Elizabeth's concessions kept pace with the increase of her sister's complaisance. When she was at length admitted to personal intercourse and intimacy, she attended all the high ceremonies of the Romish Church with seeming devotion, and even partook of the sacrament of the altar. The mutual indifference, or rather aversion, of the King and Queen towards each other, which soon after occurred, operated in her favour. Philip, lately her apparent friend, from some political views regarding his continental interests now reiterated with vehemence the suit of the Duke of Savoy, and Mary, whose favourite measure it had lately been, as earnestly supported Elizabeth in the rejection of it. The Princess presently returned this service by refusing the hand of the heir-apparent to the Crown of Sweden, on the alledged ground of the indignity which the King, his father, had offered to Mary by directing his ambassador to propose it in the first instance to herself. The carriage of the sisters towards each other was assuming the appearance of affection, when the Queen died, on the seventeenth of November, 1558.

Elizabeth mounted the Throne amid an extravagance of approbation, flowing from the revived hopes of a people who had been long strangers to the regular protection of laws, and slaves to so many varieties of despotism, civil and religious. They were not disappointed. The first act of her prerogative laid the ground for all her succeeding credit, and fixed the character of her long reign. It was the appointment of William Cecil to the office of

Secretary of State, and in effect to that of Prime Minister. That great and good man had been, from the purest motives, her secret correspondent and adviser during the long season of oppression and difficulty through which she had laboured. The strict seclusion in which she had lived, even from her infancy, had rendered her a stranger to all other statesmen, and, without meaning to deny that a sense of obligation to him had its due share in influencing her choice, it may be said that she fell as it were naturally into his hands. He formed her ministry, and presided in it with unparalleled honesty and disinterestedness, and with the rarest combination of wisdom, fortitude, and good temper, that history can produce in the conduct of a public man. The constant activity of these admirable qualities for years averted from his mistress and from the realm the dangers with which her foibles threatened both. From the hour of his appointment those exertions became necessary, for it was almost in the same hour that she chose for her favourite that monster of ambition and profligacy, Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. It would perhaps be too much to ascribe wholly to that unworthy partiality the resolution which she professed already to have taken against matrimony, for it was to her first Parliament, as soon as it had assembled, that she expressed it. Her brother-in-law Philip of Spain, Eric, King of Sweden, and the Archduke Charles of Austria, made their addresses, and were refused accordingly. A few too of the highest of her subjects entertained distant hopes of being chosen by her, and others of them have been mentioned to whom perhaps the thought never occurred. That Dudley however aspired to her hand, and with a boldness unknown to the rest, is certain; and that, to ensure at least the possibility of obtaining it, he connived at the murther of his wife is scarcely doubtful.

Elizabeth's jealousy of the Queen of Scots commenced with the accession of the one to the English throne, and of the other, as Queen consort, to that of France, events nearly simultaneous. The importance that Scotland had derived from the French

marriage, which had made it in effect a colony of France, was justly dreaded, and no time was lost in demonstrating the vigilance which it seemed to demand. A fleet sailed to the Frith of Forth, and a powerful army was marched to the borders, and the Regent, Mary of Guise, already perplexed by the insurrectionary spirit of the infant kirk, submitted by the treaty of Edinburgh to terms highly advantageous to the interest of England. In the political effects of the reformation in Scotland, and indeed elsewhere, Elizabeth found a useful lesson for her own conduct at home. Unincumbered by conscientious scruples and niceties of faith, she determined to reject, in pursuing the separation from the church of Rome, every novelty in which the most remote tendency might be traced towards the abridgement of temporal dominion. The dismission of those splendid ceremonies, and ardent forms of worship, which biassed the judgment by captivating the imagination, was wrested from her with difficulty by her ministers and prelates. She would indeed willingly have retained the whole of the Catholic system, except its dependence on the see of Rome, but it was impracticable. Recent events had prejudiced against it a vast majority of the nation, and the final establishment of the Anglican Church was more indebted to the headstrong and cruel violence of Mary than to the wisdom, the beneficence, or the piety, of her sister. To Elizabeth however, be her motives what they might, it owes its escape from the baseness of Calvinism.

The death of Francis the second of France, in the winter of 1560, before he could be said to have reached manhood, was the signal for that well-known breach between Elizabeth and his lovely relict, which terminated in the tragical death of the one, and the endless disgrace of the other. Mary's influence in France had expired with her husband, and she returned to Scotland with regret, though to assume an independent crown. Before her departure from Paris she had been pressed by the English ambassador to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, which was

rendered peculiarly odious to her by a stipulation for her abandonment of the royal title and arms of England, her habit of quartering which had been always sternly and most reasonably resisted by Elizabeth. She evaded the demand by various pretences, and Elizabeth in return refused her request of a safe conduct for her voyage, which she, on her part, resented by a message full of anger and disdain. From this period a bitter enmity, at first rather the result of ordinary passion than of political discord, commenced between them, and was gradually aggravated by mutual injuries and affronts till it produced the purest reciprocal hatred. That Mary however cherished, or rather was persuaded to entertain, a hope that she might effectually dispute Elizabeth's right to a throne to which herself was presumptive heir is certain. The incessant instances of her father-in-law, Henry the second, of the haughty family of Lorraine, and at length of Spain, had raised an inclination in her mind to which the measure of her own ambition would have been perhaps incompetent. Philip, who had gladly coalesced with Elizabeth to counterbalance the weight of France, now, on its removal from the scale, espoused the party of Mary. He was justly esteemed the temporal head of the Catholics throughout Europe, and with little difficulty excited in those of England an aversion to their Queen, and a proportionate affection to her rival. Thus Elizabeth became compelled to use those measures of severity against the Catholics which distinguished her reign, while she felt secretly inclined towards them, and to countenance, or rather to endure, the Calvinists, or Puritans, as they were here called, whom she detested. To those of Scotland, now in open rebellion, she secretly extended every favour that her own interests, or her anger against Mary, could suggest. The influence of these circumstances, and of the policy founded on them, may be discerned in almost all the important features of more than thirty years of her reign.

The two Queens however soon found it necessary to dissemble.

They assumed a dignified decency of conduct towards each other, and entered into negotiations. Mary offered to make the clearest acknowledgement of Elizabeth's present title to the throne, on condition of receiving a recognition of her own right to the succession, which was refused, and the mutual disappointment, though it increased the obstinacy of each, was borne by each with a well affected patience. Elizabeth's denial arose not more from her enmity to the Queen of Scots than from her general aversion to all, however distant, who might in possibility inherit the throne. She seemed desirous even to extinguish the royal race; and of this almost insane foible the long and horrible persecution, which she commenced about this time, of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Catherine Grey, for their marriage, affords one remarkable instance.

In consonance with the new policy which Elizabeth had unwillingly adopted, she took up with vigour the cause of the Protestants, who were in arms in France, and, after some ineffectual negotiation in their favour with Charles the ninth, or rather with his mother, Catherine de Medicis, sent a strong force, and from time to time large supplies of money, into Normandy to aid their General, the Prince of Condé, from whom she received in return the possession of Havre de Grace, which she resolved to keep as an equivalent for Calais. This however, and all other objects of the plan, were within a few months defeated by the sudden submission of the Protestant leaders to the Crown. The large disbursements required by these purposes obliged her, early in 1563, to summon her second Parliament, which, like its predecessor, commenced its proceedings by beseeching her to marry, and was answered ambiguously. The Queen of Scots, in the mean time, encouraged the proposals which she was continually receiving through her uncles, the Duke and Cardinal of Guise, for a second marriage, an event which Elizabeth contemplated with terror, not only for the strong probability of its increasing the line of inheritors of the English Crown, but for the power which

Mary could not but at once acquire by a matrimonial alliance with one of the great royal Houses of Europe. To endeavour to prevent the one was hopeless, but she sought to avoid the danger of the other by at length proposing to acknowledge implicitly Mary's right to succeed to the throne of England, on the condition that she should take a husband from among the English nobility. The Queen of Scots received the motion with affected complacency, and, after long hesitation, Elizabeth availed herself of the opportunity of dissembling her own passion for him by naming Leicester, whom she knew would be in the end rejected, while Mary, with equal artifice, concealed the indignation with which so unworthy an offer justly inspired her.

Elizabeth's main purposes were however answered for the time. By this negotiation, and others equally extravagant, she prevented Mary for nearly two years from hearkening to any becoming proposals of marriage, and postponed any definitive answer on the grand question of the succession. Mary's patience was at length subdued. She dispatched a letter to Elizabeth in terms so wrathful that her ministers, dreading lest their private quarrel might produce a breach between the two countries, prevailed on her to conciliate, and for that purpose Sir James Melvil was sent to the English court. Those who would contemplate the utmost extravagance of female vanity, envy, and folly, may find it in that minister's memoirs, in his recitals of Elizabeth's conversations with him. She now recommended Darnley for Mary's hand, and sent him to her court, and privately intreated her to restore the honours and estates of his father, the Earl of Lennox, who laboured under an attainder. Mary was at once captivated by his fine person, and made preparations for the marriage, when Elizabeth dispatched an order for Darnley's instant return, imprisoned his mother and brother in the Tower, and seized his father's English estates; and even in this miserable faithlessness and caprice some historians have affected to discern a profound policy. Mary, impelled by various passions, now hastened her nuptials

with the catholic Darnley amidst the outcries of the reformers, whose leaders Elizabeth, after having seized the opportunity to incite to an unsuccessful rebellion, loaded with reproaches for their treason, and spurned from her presence, when they fled to her Court from the vengeance of their mistress. The strange and horrible circumstances which followed this marriage in rapid succession are so well known that to do more than name them here would seem scornful of historical recollection. Mary's partiality to Rizzio, and his assassination; the murther of Darnley; her detestable union with Bothwell; the league against her of her chief nobility, and their subsequent capture of her person; her imprisonment, escape, and fatal flight into England; all occurred within little more than two years. In the midst of these distractions, to Elizabeth's infinite chagrin, Mary brought forth her only child, afterwards our James the first.

The conduct adopted by Elizabeth towards Scotland and its miserable monarch during this momentous crisis was wholly unexpected. She who had been the bitterest foe to Mary when her youth, beauty, innocence, and power, made her the favourite of Europe, now, when worn with care, stripped of dominion, and more than suspected of horrible crimes, suddenly adopted her cause, offered her every aid, and threatened her enemies with summary vengeance. Those who in seeking for refined political causes so frequently overlook obvious motives have ascribed this anomaly to an insidious design to tempt Mary to the step which she afterwards unhappily took, while others who judged under the honest dictates of natural feeling, aiming as much beneath the mark, have placed it to the account of pity and generosity, virtues equally strangers to Elizabeth's breast. The truth is that her dread of an example of rebellion in a land divided only by an imaginary line from her own exceeded her hatred to Mary, and that the circumstances of the time prevented her from maintaining a posture of neutrality between that Princess and her insurgent subjects. Mary, however, confided in the sincerity of

herprofessions; unexpectedly fled to her for protection; and found herself a prisoner; and in the mean time her infant son was declared King of Scotland. It became necessary for Elizabeth to decide as suddenly on the part that she was now to act, and her determination involved questions of high policy; her ministers therefore were obliged to share with her in the iniquities which followed. She commenced them by assuming a jurisdiction wholly illegitimate. Mary was induced, partly by the necessity of her critical situation, and partly by a promise that the leaders of the party which had deposed her should be called on for a justification of that act, to submit to the judgement of Elizabeth not only the trial of such their conduct, but also the awful question of her own respecting the murther of Darnley. Commissioners were forthwith appointed for the cognizance of these great causes, and the rebel Lords were cited to London; not, as it presently appeared, to apologize for their delinquencies, but to assume the characters of prosecutors or witnesses against their captive Sovereign. By a series of the most profound artifices the Regent Murray was induced to give the fullest proof of Mary's guilt by the production of her letters to Bothwell, and she was instantly placed in that close confinement from which a violent death released her at the end of nineteen years.

If Elizabeth sought security or tranquillity in the prosecution of these unwarrantable measures she was indeed sorely disappointed. Even while they were in progress the Duke of Norfolk formed a design to marry the Queen of Scots; imparted it in confidence to several of the nobility of both nations, and was betrayed by Leicester; was excused for the time, and three years after, having reiterated his scheme, with aggravated circumstances, was put to death. In the mean time a hasty and ill concerted insurrection, professing for its object the restoration of the ancient faith, and headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, broke forth in the North, the suppression of which was speedily followed by another yet more imprudent.

Mary, from the first hour of her unjust restraint, became the head of the English Catholics by their tacit and unpremeditated consent, while she, in like manner, beheld in them her only efficient friends. Under the influence of a temper naturally sanguine, she seems to have been ever ready to suggest, or to adopt, any plan, however visionary, by which she might possibly regain her liberty, and replace herself on a throne which she had disgraced, and environed with difficulty and danger. Elizabeth, on her part, equally dreading to restore, on any terms, an enemy whom she had offended beyond all hope of reconciliation, or to make common cause with rebellious subjects, amused each party with professions never to be verified, and with treaties instituted but to be broken up without effect. Amidst all these causes for just alarm, Pius the fifth in 1571 excommunicated her in due form, and by the same Bull declared her title to the Crown wholly void, and absolved her subjects of their oath of allegiance.

The consolation which she derived from the reformers was very inadequate to this accumulation of evils. She flattered them on all occasions with expressions of more than maternal tenderness, and received in return the most abject professions of devotion, or rather worship; but they who had overthrown the ancient Church were of course not long before they turned their attention to the correction of the State. A freedom of speech hitherto unknown began to distinguish the House of Commons; privileges were sometimes talked of there; and her prerogatives were not unfrequently questioned. As the heat of her temper ebbed and flowed, she sometimes blustered, and sometimes conceded, and occasionally, which was the worst of all, retracted her specific threats in the very hour in which she had uttered them. The die however was cast, and she had assumed the character of patroness of the Protestant persuasion throughout Europe. To maintain that reputation, she again succoured about this period the Huguenots, as they were called, now in formidable array against Charles the ninth, but was induced to withdraw her aid by insidious propo-

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sals from that Prince, and to endure with a sullen patience even that consummation of wickedness, the massacre of St. Bartholomew. At this very period she undertook the friendly office of sponsor to his infant daughter, and listened with an affected complacency to another, but still fruitless offer of the hand of the Duke of Alençon, whom, as well as his elder brother, the Duke of Anjou, soon after Henry the third, she had formerly rejected. The public anxiety regarding the succession to the Crown, repeatedly expressed by her Parliaments, prevented the unpopularity which her seeming apathy towards the Protestant cause might have provoked, while her utter aversion to their remonstrances on the subject of marriage tempted her as frequently to amuse them by engaging in negotiations to that effect, always insincere.

The death of Charles, and the formation, by the talents and boldness of the family of Guise, of the League, altered most of these relations. Philip, from whose interest she had hoped to detach France, now openly declared himself protector of that celebrated combination, and avowed with more frankness than was usually found in his policy, his determination to extirpate the reformed religion. Elizabeth's safety, as well as her reputation, demanded an undisguised resistance on her part, and the sudden revolt of that Monarch's oppressed subjects in the Low Countries, together with the horrible vengeance inflicted on them by the Duke of Alva, rendered her interference not less popular than politic. The States of Holland and Zealand offered to swear allegiance to her, and were refused. She supplied them liberally however from time to time with arms and money, and her ministers were already occupied in preparations for that warfare with Spain the triumphant event of which is yet so grateful to English minds. Meanwhile the Catholics at home were watched and pursued with renewed severity, in proof of which the Queen herself, in one of her progresses, imprisoned, by her own special authority, a gentleman who was in the very act of sumptuously entertaining her at his mansion, because some of

her attendants had found an image of the Virgin concealed in one of his outhouses. Of such absurd extravagance and injustice could she be capable when left to the unadvised exercise of her own will!

For several years past Elizabeth had governed Scotland by her influence over the Regent Morton, who was her creature and pensioner, but James was now emerging from childhood, and a small party, secretly under the direction of the Duke of Guise, persuaded him to assume the administration of the kingdom. Morton, after some struggle, in which she vainly endeavoured to support him, was arrested, tried, and executed; a scheme was formed to associate Mary with her son in the sovereign authority; and the interest of the Court of France was fruitlessly exerted to the utmost to that effect. It is somewhat singular that Elizabeth should have chosen this period to encourage the renewed addresses of Alençon, now Duke of Anjou. The negociations on this remarkable occasion were instituted and conducted solely by herself; and her Council, hesitating to answer her appeal to its opinion by an unqualified approbation of the match, was almost reprimanded by her. The nation was struck with astonishment that a woman who from her early youth had always declared even an abhorrence of marriage should, at the age of forty-eight, suddenly determine to give her hand to a Prince more than twenty years younger than herself, and little recommended either by talents, person, or manners. Every part of her conduct relating to this strange affair was marked by the most extravagant caprice; Sir Philip Sidney composed with great freedom a long and laboured argument, or rather invective, against the match, and it was received without disapprobation; while a Mr. Stubbs, a barrister, and a man of considerable merit, and unquestionable loyalty, followed the same course, and was punished by the loss of his right hand, and a long imprisonment. Anjou at length arrived privately, and she received him with all the airs of an impassioned damsel of romance. He left England for a short

interval, and, on his return, after some secret interviews, she presented him to her Court, in the full presence of which, among other amorous fooleries, she took a ring from her finger, and placed it on his, in token, as it seemed, of a confirmation of their contract, and six weeks after they coolly parted to meet no more. These mysterious absurdities, for which no one has hitherto satisfactorily accounted, might have arisen out of a wildness of resentment and jealousy suddenly excited by her recent discovery of Leicester's private marriage to the Countess of Essex. As she had been weak enough to betray publicly the influence of those passions over her by imprisoning him for that fact, it cannot be unreasonable to suppose that she was capable of flattering herself that she might mortify him, in her turn, by an affectation of fondness for another lover.

Elizabeth was now surrounded, by enemies. The puritans menaced her monarchical power, and the catholics her life, and their hatred to each other was exceeded only by their joint hatred of her. In the various plots of the latter, which at this time followed each other in rapid succession, the captive Mary was always directly or indirectly a party. It was deemed necessary to remove her from the milder custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose several mansions she had been for many years confined, and to place her in the hands of sterner keepers. A bond of association for the defence of Elizabeth was proposed by the Court, and eagerly signed by multitudes of nobles and gentry. This instrument was presently after adopted by a new Parliament, and put into the form of an act, with the addition of a clause, clearly foreboding the ultimate fate of Mary, by which the Queen was empowered to appoint commissioners for the trial of any one who, pretending a right to the Crown, might contrive any invasion, insurrection, or assassination, against her, and leaving the punishment of such offender to her discretion. The same Parliament, a majority of which was puritanical, among other aukward strides towards independence, made some resolutions trenching on

Elizabeth's ecclesiastical supremacy; attacked the authority of the prelacy; and were reprimanded by her in a speech in which she plainly told them that she considered the puritans not less dangerous than the catholics. Those of the Low Countries, a peaceful because a commercial people, worn with warfare and oppression, once more besought her to become their Sovereign, and were again refused. It became however a question whether she should wage offensive war against Spain on their behalf, and Elizabeth, usually indifferent where her passions were not excited, left the decision to her ministers. After long debates, they determined it affirmatively. Drake, whose courage and nautical skill had been abundantly proved in former enterprizes, was dispatched against the Spanish colonies in America, and was eminently successful, and a strong military force was landed in Holland; but here the Queen's inveterate partiality towards Leicester interfered; she named him to the command of the expedition; it failed, through his ambition and inexperience; she quarrelled with him, and forgave him; and he returned, despised by the States, and hated at home by all but his infatuated mistress.

The termination of Mary's sufferings approached. The rage of the persecuted catholics of England, incessantly fomented by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the heads of the League, concentrated itself in a new plot, involving at once the assassination of the Queen, an insurrection, and a foreign invasion. Mary, whom it was proposed to place on the English Throne, had been long in close correspondence with the conspirators, and was acquainted, even to minuteness, with all the details of this awful enterprise, which were at length betrayed by one of the parties, and sifted by Walsingham, a minister who seems to have been born but for such employment, and whose vigilance had previously detected the general design. Fourteen of the leaders were seized and executed, but to dispose of Mary required deliberation, in the course of which let it be remembered that Leicester, a known poisoner, proposed that she should be so removed, and, with that

hypocrisy for which he was little less infamous, sent a clergyman to persuade Walsingham by scriptural argument that in such a case the expedient would be lawful. It was however determined that she should be tried on the act which had been lately passed with the peculiar view, it may be said, of so applying it. Of the catastrophe of the tragedy it is needless to speak. In reflecting on the first treacherous and inhospitable detention of this Princess; on the various horrors of her tedious imprisonment; and the final sacrifice of her life; all equally barbarous and unjust; we almost forget the crimes and the follies of her earlier time, and are inclined to consider her concluding designs on the throne anp the life of her great enemy but as measures of retaliation which may readily find an apology in the infirmity of human passions, however lofty. For the conduct of Elizabeth too may a similar plea be urged in extenuation; but what were the passions which actuated her? vanity, envy, and jealousy, succeeded by groveling fear, and insatiable malice. The incomparable resignation and heroism which marked the death of the one almost compleated the redemption of her fame: the vile dissimulation of the other which followed has plunged her memory into irretrievable infamy. She declared, with oaths and tears, that she had forbidden the delivery of the warrant signed by her for the execution; and to support the deception, doomed to disgrace and poverty her faithful servant, the Secretary Davison, in whose hands she had placed it, directing him to forward it, while she lamented to him that Mary's keepers had not prevented the necessity for it by assassinating their prisoner.

James's resentment of the murther of his mother did not exceed the forms of decency, and presently wholly subsided; while the attention of England was suddenly turned from it to the mighty attack meditated by Spain, which had long been foreseen by Elizabeth's ministers, and was now generally known to the public. It had been repeatedly disappointed by the successful enterprises of Drake, and other nautical adventurers, when at length Europe

resounded with the news of the equipment of the Armada which the Spaniards called "invincible," the total discomfiture of which it is scarcely necessary even to mention. Leicester, whom the Queen had appointed to the chief command of the land forces raised to oppose the expected invasion, and for whom she had ordered a commission for the unheard-of office of her "Lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland," survived that great event but for a few weeks, and she coldly seized and sold his property to reimburse his debts to her—a sufficient proof that the extravagance of her partiality had subsisted merely on motives which could not survive him, not to mention the speedy accession of another, and a more youthful favourite. She seems to have hesitated for a while whom to select from three candidates, each of them remarkably handsome, highly accomplished, and about thirty years younger than herself. The Earl of Essex became the unfortunate object of her choice, and succeeded his father-in-law, Leicester, not only in the full measure of her affection, but as leader of the puritan faction.

Had Elizabeth abstained from this final folly, the concluding years of her public and private life might have passed in uninterrupted tranquillity. The pride and the power of Spain had received a wound not readily to be healed; France was worn by intestine commotions, and its monarch was her firm friend, as well from prejudice as from policy; and in Scotland, which was yet in some measure distracted by the violent factions that had alternately ruled during a long regal minority, James, not less pacific in his nature than helpless from circumstances, obeyed her mandates with almost the submission of a tributary Prince. The Catholics, stunned by the blows which had fallen on the Queen of Scots, and on their great patron, Philip, required years to re-inspire them even with hope, and the Puritans had not yet dreamed of connecting rebellion with their profession of faith; the power of the Crown was almost absolute, and the great mass of the people contented. The history of the last ten years of this

Queen would have been nearly a blank but for the surprising rise and fall of Essex.

She gave him the Garter, and appointed him Master of the Horse, before he had fully attained the age of twenty-one. From the hour of his first appearance at her court she used towards him a singularity of carriage which at first rather excited secret ridicule than envy, and which seems, naturally enough, to have disgusted himself, for he fled privately from her, and became a volunteer in a foreign expedition. She summoned him home, first by an order from her Privy Council, then by an angry letter from herself, and when he unwillingly returned redoubled her fondness. He married, and she became outrageous, but was presently reconciled. She appointed him to military commands, for which he had no requisite but bravery, and forced him into the character of a statesman, for which the natural impetuosity of his generous temper utterly disqualified him. Under the influence of that foible he frequently treated her with rudeness and contempt, and she bore it patiently. In an argument however on the affairs of Ireland, the freedom of his contradictions provoked her to strike him; he fled furiously from the Court; and she drew him with difficulty from the privacy in which he had buried himself to invest him with the government of that very country. His measures there were ill-judged, and worse executed. He received a letter from Elizabeth full of bitter reproaches; anticipated at length her vengeance; and his horror of the consequent triumph of his enemies at home irritated his sensitive mind to the brink of frenzy. In this wretched disposition, he took a sudden resolution to return secretly, and throw himself at her feet. She received him with kindness, but referred the consideration of his case to her Privy Council. He was deprived of his seat in that assembly, and of his offices, and placed for a short time in a mild imprisonment. He retired into the country, and, could he have waited patiently, would probably have been restored to all his former favour; but his mind had been incurably wounded, and

he had lost all reasonable power of guiding his own conduct. He returned to London; shut himself up in his own house with a few imprudent followers; detained as hostages the Lord Keeper, and Chief Justice, who had been sent to hear his complaints; and at length sallied forth, with his little force, in hostile array against he knew not whom. He was presently overpowered, and soon after brought to trial for high treason by his Peers, who ought to have acquitted him on the score of insanity; but they found him guilty, and Elizabeth, under an impression of terror, which for the time had overpowered, but not impaired, her affection for him, consigned him to the scaffold. She survived him for two years, gradually sinking, without disease, under a regular abatement of strength and spirits, the commencement of which is proved to have been observed almost immediately after his death. To those who may be inclined to take the pains to examine carefully the numerous notices which remain, on indubitable authority, of her decay, and the expressions which fell from her during its progress, it will be evident that her life fell a sacrifice to the premature loss of that of her favourite. She died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603.

Some remark may probably be expected here on the singularities which distinguish the portrait prefixed to this outline of Elizabeth's life; but little can be said in explanation of them. In an age which delighted in the pictorial riddles of inexhaustible allegory it is perhaps not very strange that she should have adopted this mode of displaying such devices; still less that one of the vainest women in the world should have invented, or accepted, such as might attribute to herself the beneficence and splendor of the sun, the wisdom of the serpent, and the vigilance of the most acute and watchful organs of the human frame. Besides, her wardrobe at the time of her death contained more than two thousand dresses, of the fashions of all countries, of all times, and of all contrivance that busy fancy could suggest, and

in the gratification of this childish whim variety imparted the main charm. The portrait itself however, were it a mere head, would be of great curiosity, inasmuch as it represents her much younger than any other extant, and with at least as much beauty as she could at any time have possessed.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

OB. 1624.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MIREVELT, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Sept.r 1. 1825.

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

Of the life of this nobleman, who was the third Earl of Southampton of his name, some pains have been of late years taken to collect the scattered circumstances. History could scarcely have avoided mentioning a man who had been deeply and actively engaged in Essex's singular conspiracy, and had suffered therefore a severe punishment, but it has gone little further. He was however not only the friend of Essex, but the patron of Shakespeare; more than one of whose numerous commentators, unwilling wholly to lose their labour, have furnished us with many miscellaneous notices of Southampton which occurred in their almost fruitless researches on the peculiar subject of that patronage. He was a man of no very unusual character, in whom several fine qualities were shadowed by some important defects. His understanding seems to have been lively and acute; and his acquired talents united to a competent erudition, an extensive and correct taste for polite letters, and the most highly finished manners. His friendships were ardent and lasting; his personal courage almost proverbial; and his honour wholly unsuspected: but his mind was fickle and unsteady; a violent temper engaged him in frequent quarrels, and in enmities injurious to his best interests; and he was wholly a stranger to that wary circumspection which is commonly dignified by the name of prudence.

He was the second of the two sons of Henry, second Earl, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and was born on the sixth of October, 1573. His father and his elder brother died before he had reached the age of twelve years, for on the eleventh of December, 1585, he was admitted, as appears

by the books of that house, a student of St. John's College, in Cambridge, with the denomination of "Henry, Earl of Southampton." He took there, in 1589, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and seems to have left the University in that year, to proceed on his travels. "He spent his time," says one of his eulogists, in a tract so scarce that I have never been able to meet with a copy, "at Cambridge, in the study of good letters, and afterwards comfirmed that study with travel and foreign observation." The little volume in question is intituled "Honour in his perfection, or a Treatise in commendation of the virtues and renowned virtuous undertakings of the illustrious and heroic Princes, Henry Earl of Oxenford, Henry Earl of Southampton, and Robert Earl of Essex, by G. M." which Mr. Malone, whose abstract of some passages in the book I shall use in the next paragraph, supposes, on authority which he does not state, to have meant Gervase Markham.

He went with the Earl of Essex as a volunteer in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596; and in the following year was appointed to command the Garland, one of Elizabeth's best ships, and acted as Vice Admiral of the first squadron in the fleet that sailed against the Azores. In that expedition happening, with only three of the Queen's ships, and a few merchant-men, to fall in with thirty-five sail of Spanish galleons, laden with the treasures of South America, he sunk one of them, dispersed several others that were afterwards taken, and drove the rest into a bay of the island of Tercera, which was then unassailable. After the English had taken and spoiled the town of Villa Franca, the enemy, finding that most of them were gone aboard their ships, and that only the Earls of Essex and Southampton, with a few others, remained on shore, came down upon them with all their force, but were received with such spirit that many of the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the rest obliged to retreat. On this occasion he behaved with such gallantry that he was knighted in the field by Essex, "ere," says the author, "he could dry the

sweat from his brows, or put his sword up in the scabbard." In these warlike services, the proper cradle for the friendship of such spirits as theirs, was nursed to maturity the earnest affection which these accomplished men ever after bore to each other.

In 1598 Essex was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Southampton accompanied him thither, and on their arrival was made General of the Horse, " clean contrary," says Camden, " to the Deputy's instructions ;" for it seems that Southampton had not long before offended Elizabeth by marrying without that permission which, even so lately as in her reign, it was expected that the nobility should ask of the Crown, and had therefore been expressly excepted by her from promotion. She condescended to admonish the Deputy to displace him, and was silently disobeyed. The succeeding disgusts and intemperances of Essex are well known. Early in their progress he formed the project of returning at the head of a select party, with the view of reducing his adversaries in England by force of arms, and Southampton is said to have dissuaded him for the time from that wild attempt. They came home soon after however, privately and submissively: Essex was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper; and Southampton retired from Court unquestioned; and thus matters remained for several months, till at length they appeared together in open insurrection in the beginning of the year 1601, were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty by their Peers. Southampton's daring spirit was appalled by this aweful process, and his defence was neither dignified nor candid. " He asked pardon," to use the words of Camden, " for his crime, which was purely owing, he said, to his affection for the Earl of Essex; and, after a declaration of his stedfast loyalty to the Queen, added that some proposals for seizing the Palace, and the Tower, were made indeed, but nothing resolved upon, the whole matter being referred to Essex : that what was acted was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, viz. their going into the city, which was with no other design than to facilitate Essex's access to the

Queen, there to make a personal complaint of the wrongs that were done him: that his sword had not been drawn all that day: that he heard nothing of the proclamation wherein they were declared rebels: that he hindered, as much as in him lay, the firing of any shot from Essex's house. He then desired that the cause might be decided by rules of equity; not the nicety and quirks of the law. He humbly implored the Queen's mercy, and desired the Peers to intercede for him; and this he did," concludes Camden, "in so modest and becoming a way, as excited a compassion in all who were there present." Essex, who disdained to offer any request for himself, urged the Lords, with a noble earnestness, to interpose with the Queen to spare his friend. Southampton was condemned to die, and left for many weeks to expect the execution of his sentence, which Elizabeth at length remitted, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower till her death.

Few men ever experienced through the peaceable transmission of a sceptre from one hand to another a reverse of fortune so complete as befel Southampton on the accession of James. "That Prince," as Mr. Chalmers well observes, "recollecting the intrigues of Essex, and the conspiracy of Gowry, acted on his arrival as if he had thought that rebellion against Elizabeth was a rising for him." On the first of April, 1603, six days only after her decease, the King despatched from Scotland an order, directed, singularly enough, "to the nobility of England, and the Council of State sitting at Whitehall," for Southampton's release, whom he complimented at the same time by a special invitation to meet him on his road to his new dominions. On the tenth he was set at liberty, and immediately restored to the estates that he had forfeited by his attainder. He was installed a Knight of the Garter on the second of the following July, and appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, and on the twenty-first of the same month was legally repossessed of his titles by a new patent. An annual pension of six hundred pounds was settled on his

Countess: in the beginning of the succeeding year he was named Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire; and the first bill which was read in James's first Parliament was for his restitution in blood.

Amidst this tide of favour some cause of umbrage occurred which is no where clearly explained, and towards the end of June, 1604, he was suddenly arrested, and, after a few days, as suddenly set at liberty. Mr. Malone, probably on the authority of the tract before spoken of, informs us, that the cause alledged for his apprehension was disaffection to the Crown, but that it arose in fact from the machinations of Salisbury, the great adversary of the Essex party, who had persuaded James that an improper intimacy subsisted between Southampton and the Queen. He was presently restored, however, to his wonted station, but the engagements of the Court were insufficient to employ his busy, and indeed turbulent mind, and, having vainly endeavoured to obtain employment in the State, in which he could not even so far succeed as to gain a seat in the Privy Council, he plunged deeply into speculations of traffic and colonization; became a member of the Virginia company, and was chosen Treasurer of that corporation, which had not long been established; and took an active part in the project of sending ships to the American coast on voyages of trade and discovery. Meanwhile he engaged in the coarse diversions of the town, and fell into the disgraceful broils which then generally attended them. Mr. John Chamberlain, one of the many agreeable newsmongers of that day, writes to Sir Ralph Winwood, on the second of May, 1610, "indeed it were fitter that our Court gallants had some place abroad to vent their superfluous valour than to brabble so much as they do here at home, for in one week we had three or four great quarrels; the first 'twixt the Earls of Southampton and Montgomery, that fell out at tennis, where the rackets flew about their ears, but the matter was taken up and compounded by the King, without further bloodshed." The taste for military

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASW

affairs did in fact soon after recur on him; he made more than one visit to the Low Countries, and in 1614 accompanied the romantic Lord Herbert of Cherbury at the siege of Rees, in the Duchy of Cleve.

In 1617, he attended the King in his journey into Scotland, and so far ingratiated himself with that Prince during his long visit to his native land that the distinction which he had for some years solicited in vain was conferred on him soon after his return: on the nineteenth of April, 1619, he was sworn of the Privy Council. This gratification probably led to new requests, and consequent disappointments, now forgotten. Certain however it is that soon after he had received it he joined the party in opposition to the Court, and exerted his talents and his vivacity to the utmost in thwarting the desires of the King, and the measures of his ministers, in Parliament. He now fell again into disgrace. In the spring of 1621 he had a sharp altercation with the favourite Buckingham in the House of Peers, which Camden has thought important enough to mention thus particularly in his brief Annals of King James. "March 14, there was some quarrelling between the M. of Buckingham, and Southampton and Sheffield, who had interrupted him for repeating the same thing over and over again, and that contrary to the received approved order in Parliament; but the Prince reconciled them." This affront however was not forgotten by the haughty Buckingham. On the sixteenth of the following June, twelve days after the adjournment of Parliament, Southampton was confined in the house of the Dean of Westminster, on the charge of mischievous intrigues with some members of the Commons, and afterwards to his own seat of Titchfield, in the custody of a Sir William Parkhurst. The following letter of proud submission, the original of which may be found in the Harleian collection, was addressed by him on that occassion to the Lord Keeper Williams.

My Lo.

I have found your Lo. alredy so favorable and affectionate unto mee that I shall be still herafter desierus to acquaint you wth what concernes mee, & bould to aske your advice & counsell, wch makes mee now send this bearer to geve your Lo. an account of my answer from Court, wch I cannot better doe then by sendinge unto you the answer itself, wch you shall receave heereinclosed, wherein you may see what is expected from mee—that I must not onely magnifie his Ma$^{tie's}$ gratious dealinge wth mee, but cause all my frendes to doe the lyke, & restrayne them from makinge any extenuation of my errors, wch if they bee disposed to doe, or not to doe, is unpossible for mee to alter, that am not lykely for a good time to see any other then my owne famely. For myself, I shall ever bee ready, as is fitt, to acknowlege his Ma$^{tie's}$ favor to mee, but can hardly perswade myself that any error by mee com̃itted deserved more punishment then I have had, & hope his Matie will not expect that I should confess myselfe to have been subject to a Starre-chamber sentence, wch God forbidd I should ever doe. I have, & shall doe accordinge to that part of my Lo. of Buckingham's advice, to speake as little of it as I can; and so shall I doe in other thinges, to meddle as little as I can. I purpose, God willinge, to goe tomorrow to Tichfield, the place of my confinement, there to stay as long as the King shall please. Sir William Parkhurst must goe wth mee, who hoped to been discharged at the returne of my messenger from Court, & seames much trobled that hee is not, pretendinge that it is extreeme inconvenient for him, in regard of his owne occations. Hee is fearfull lest hee should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lo. writes to the Court if you would putt my Lo. of Buckingham in remembrance of it you shall, I thinke, doe him a favour. For my part, it is so little troble to mee, and of so small moment, as I meane to move no more for it. When this bearer returnes I

beseech you returne by him the inclosed L^re^, & beleeve that, whatsoever I am, I will ever bee

your Lo. most assured frend, to do you servis,

H. Southampton.

To the right honorable my very good Lo. the
Lo. Keeper of the Great Seale of England.

On the first of September he was set at liberty. That the offence offered by him to Buckingham had been his only fault is evident from certain passages in two remarkable letters from Williams, both written on the first of August, 1621, which are printed in the Cabala; the first in answer to that of Southampton here given, which concludes thus--"For mine own part, assure yourself I am your true and faithful servant, and shall never cease so to continue as long as you make good your professions to this noble Lord; of whose extraordinary goodness your Lordship and myself are remarkable reflections; the one, of his sweetness in forgetting wrongs; the other of his forwardness in conferring of courtesies." The second is to the Marquis himself, who, as we may infer from the following expressions, still continued somewhat vindictive." "There is no readier way," says the Lord Keeper, "to stop the mouths of idle men than to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of. justice, to behold nothing but goodness and mercy"--and again--"Remember your noble self, and forget the aggravations of malice and envy; and then forget, if you can, the Earl of Southampton."

For many months after his enlargement he lived in retirement and privacy, but on the meeting of the next Parliament appeared as the leader of the men of parliamentary business in the House of Peers; was a member of all committees on important affairs; and immersed himself in the study of the forms and privileges of that assembly. From those grave occupations he suddenly withdrew himself to engage once more in active military service. James, compelled by the general feeling of the country to abandon

his pacific system, in the summer of 1624 signed a treaty of defensive alliance with the United States, by an article of which they were permitted to raise in England a body of six thousand men. Southampton accepted the command of one of the four regiments into which that force was divided, and led it to its destination, where he had not long remained, when himself, and his eldest son, the Lord Wriothesley, who had attended him on the expedition, were attacked by a violent fever, to which the latter presently fell a victim. The Earl recovered, and, when he had regained sufficient strength for the mournful journey, travelling homewards, with the young man's corpse, was seized with a lethargy at Bergen-op-zoom, where he died on the tenth of November, 1624, and was buried at Titchfield, in Hampshire, on the twenty-eighth of the succeeding month.

Of Lord Southampton's literature, and connection with literary men, little is known but from the doubtful testimony of poets of all degrees of merit, by whom he was loaded with adulation. Shakespeare's two short dedications, however, of the Poems of Venus and Adonis, and the Rape of Lucrece, addressed to him when a very young man, are exceptions, and are so strongly marked, particularly the second, with the simple features of private regard and gratitude, that there seems to be little room to doubt that such sentiments actually existed between them. Of this all other evidence is lost, save the assertion of Sir William Davenant that Southampton gave to Shakespeare at one time the sum of a thousand pounds, to enable him to complete a favourite purchase. We are informed also in the preface to the first edition of Minshew's "Guide to Tongues" that he had liberally relieved the necessities of that learned man. Of the eulogies lavished on him a mere catalogue would be too prolix. I will content myself therefore with inserting two only: the one, because it flowed from the pen of the serious and veracious Camden, who, in his Britannia, referring briefly to those who had borne the title of Earl of Southampton, thus concludes his treatise on that

county — "Edwardus VI. eundem honorem, anno sui regno primo, Thomæ Wriothesley, Angliæ Cancellario detulit; cujus e filio Henrico nepos Henricus eodem hodie lætatur; qui in primo ætatis flore præsidio bonarum literarum, et rei militaris scientia, nobilitatem communit, ut uberiores fructus maturiore ætate patriæ et principi profundat:" The other, because it has been hitherto to be found only in a book of such extreme rarity that it may be confidently presumed that it now for the first time offers itself to the notice of modern readers, The nature, and method of the little work in question, a copy of which, thought to be unique, is in my hands, will be sufficiently explained by the title—"The Mirrour of Majestie, or the Badges of Honour conceitedly emblazoned; with Emblems annexed, poetically unfolded; by H. G. 1618." In this collection, under the arms of the Earl of Southampton, which consist of a cross between four sea-gulls, are these lines—

> No storme of troubles, or cold frost of friends,
> Which on free greatnes too too oft attends,
> Can by presumption threaten your free state;
> For these presaging sea-birds do amate
> Presumptuous greatnes, moving the best mindes
> By their approach to feare the future windes
> Of all calamitie, no lesse than they
> Portend to seamen a tempestuous day;
> Which you foreseeing may beforehand crosse,
> As they do them, and so prevent the losse.

On the opposite page, to a biform figure of Mars and Mercury, encircled with the motto "In utraque perfectus," is subjoined the following compliment—

> What coward stoicke or blunt captaine will
> Dislike this union, or not labour still
> To reconcile the arts and victory?
> Since in themselves arts have this quality,
> To vanquish errour's traine; what other then
> Should love the arts, if not a valiant man?
> Or how can he resolve to execute
> That hath not first learn'd to be resolute?
> If any shall oppose this, or dispute,
> Your great example shall their spite confute.

This nobleman married Elizabeth, daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in Shropshire, who long survived him. He had by her two sons, James, who has been already mentioned; and Thomas, his successor, that eminently loyal servant to Charles the first, and virtuous Lord Treasurer to Charles the second, in whom the title became extinct. He left also three daughters; Penelope, wife of William Lord Spencer of Wormleighton; Anne, married to Robert Wollop, of Farley, in Hants; and Elizabeth, to Sir Thomas Estcourt, a Master in Chancery.

Engraved by S. Freeman.

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

OB. 1628.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Sept. 1, 1825.

GEORGE VILLIERS,

FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,

THAT is to say the first to whom that title was granted since it had been torn by attainder from the blood of Plantagenet, in the superb House of Stafford.

There is so much of historical importance, and so much more of the curiosity of anecdote, in the life of this extraordinary man, that the biographer who may endeavour to treat of it with conciseness will perhaps find it no easy task to satisfy his readers, or indeed himself, by the method either of his selection or his detail. Villiers's unexampled exaltation, and exorbitant power; the extent of his concern in the highest matters of the State; the ardent character of his whole mind; and the remarkable termination of his life; are subjects for the largest canvas, and the boldest pencil; while his secret history as a courtier sinks into the effeminate delicacy of miniature, and requires numberless touches to complete a picture, full of interest in all its individual parts, however deficient in its proportions.

It was reported by those who envied his greatness that he was meanly descended, but the truth is that his family, originally of the county of Nottingham, had been seated for four centuries before his birth among the best gentry, "rather indeed," as Sir Henry Wotton observes, "without obscurity than with any great lustre," at Brokesby, in Leicestershire, where he was born on the twenty-eighth of August, 1592. His father, Sir George Villiers, Knight, having had two sons by a former wife, married, secondly, Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, a younger brother of the ancient and still flourishing House of Beaumont, of Cole-Orton, in the same county, and George was the second, or, as some say,

the youngest of the three sons of that match. With little hope therefore even of a decent patrimony, he was sent, at ten years old, to a school at Billesden, in the neighbourhood of his parents, where, to use again the singular words of Wotton, "he was taught the principles of music, and other slight literature, till the thirteenth year of his age, when his father died." He was afterwards long instructed at home in dancing, fencing, and all the qualifications of a courtier, in which character it seems to have been rather the wish than the expectation of his parents that he might be sometime placed; and then passed three years in France, from whence he returned exact to perfection in every accomplishment which could be bestowed by an education from which all that we are used to call learning seems to have been utterly excluded.

He loitered away yet another year in his mother's house in the country before any plan could be devised for his future life, when meeting with the daughter of Sir Robert Aston, a Scotsman, who was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Master of the Robes to the King, they conceived a mutual affection for each other, and he followed her to London. "The gentlewoman loved him so well," says Welden, "as, could all his friends have made, for her great fortune, but an hundred marks jointure, she had married him presently, in despite of all her friends, and no question would have had him without any jointure at all." It is said, however, probably more truly, that he was dissuaded from the match by Sir James Graham, another minor courtier, who, discerning in him all the qualities which were likely to succeed there, "encouraged him," as Wotton tells us, "to woo fortune in the Court." He attached himself therefore to that gentleman, and accompanied him shortly after in a progress which the King made through the midland counties, and at Apethorpe, in Northamptonshire, James first saw him.

Among the many follies of that royal paradox, his admiration of an agreeable exterior was perhaps the most remarkable,

Homely in his own person, and even vulgar in his manners, he was delighted, almost to fascination, by a fine figure and countenance, and a graceful carriage. Villiers excelled in all, and the constant and precise agreement of the many who have described his sudden advancement leaves us no room to doubt that he owed it solely to those qualifications. The King imparted to Graham, with strict injunctions of secrecy, his intention to bestow on this young man the place of favourite, which indeed at that time was to be found in the establishment of almost every monarch, together, to quote Wotton once more, " with directions how, and by what degrees, he should bring him into favour."

James, however, was too impatient to wait the progress of his own arrangement. He commanded that Villiers should be sworn his servant, and gave him the office of Cupbearer; within a few weeks after, on the twenty-third of April, 1615, appointed him a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and settled on him an annual pension of one thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards; and, on the fourth of the following January, made him Master of the Horse, an office, before and since his time, always held by one of the prime nobility, and which the Earl of Worcester then resigned, at the King's instance, to make room for him. Such was the fortune of his first year. On the twenty-third of April, in the second, 1616, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and the next day named Justice of the Forests north of Trent; on the twenty-seventh of August created Baron Whaddon, at which time the King gave him the rich Lordship of that name in the county of Buckingham, and, very shortly after, Viscount Villiers; on the fifth of January, 1617, N. S. Earl, and on the first of the next January Marquis, of Buckingham. In the course of the same month, in the succeeding year, he was appointed Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, and Wales, and immediately after sworn of the Privy Council, and made Chief Justice in Eyre of the Forests south of Trent, Master of the King's Bench office, High Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor Castle;

and all this before he had reached the twenty-sixth year of his age. In the mean time dignities and wealth were showered with a most unexampled wantonness and profusion on all his kindred. His mother was created Countess of Buckingham; one of his two brothers Viscount Purbeck, and the other Earl of Anglesey; and Sir William Fielding, who had married his only sister, Earl of Denbigh. His brothers and sisters of the half blood were also ennobled or enriched; and even his most distant relations were provided for by advantageous marriages, or lucrative appointments. The ancient nobility, many of whom had in the beginning lent him their aid, for the sake of raising a rival to the favourite Somerset, now looked on in sullen silence, and the people, who in truth had little concern in the matter, murmured loudly.

Together with his great honours and employments, he possessed a control so unbounded over the King's inclinations that he became the sole dispenser of all royal favours; and, by a felicity perhaps not to be paralleled, was held at the same time in the most unlimited affection and confidence by the Heir Apparent. Their characters were in most respects widely dissimilar, but they agreed in a disposition to form strong attachments, and in that perfect frankness of sincerity which alone can maintain them. Charles's regard was therefore reciprocated by Villiers, and as it seems to have been the first real friendship felt by either of them, so it naturally became of the strongest, and most lasting order. Thence originated, among many other public matters perhaps of greater importance, the romantic journey to Spain, projected by Buckingham, with all the impetuosity that distinguished him, and most readily adopted by the Prince, in direct opposition to the King's declared judgment and inclination. Few historical events have been so frequently and so largely detailed. A negociation had long subsisted for the marriage of Charles to the Infanta of Spain, which these young statesmen resolved to supersede by presenting themselves, suddenly and unexpectedly, as private persons, to the most jealous and formal

Court in Europe. They set out on the eighteenth of February, 1623, under the names of Jack and Tom Smith, with a single attendant, from Buckingham's lately purchased palace of Newhall, in Essex; passed the Thames near Gravesend, where, by idly giving a piece of gold to the boatman, they excited a suspicion that they were persons of rank intending to cross the sea to fight a duel, and in consequence narrowly escaped being stopped at Rochester; were actually detained at Canterbury by the Mayor, to whom the Marquis was obliged to discover himself, taking off his false beard, and alledging, in his character of Lord Admiral, that he was going to take a secret view of the state of a fleet which was then equipping for the north seas; arrived in the evening at Dover, where they were joined by Sir Francis Cottington, and another, who had been sent to hire a vessel; and, embarking the next morning for Calais, on the twenty-first arrived at Paris, where Charles, standing among ordinary spectators in a balcony in the Court, first saw the beauteous Henrietta Maria, his future Queen.

At length they reached Madrid, and threw off their disguises in the house of the Earl of Bristol, the English Ambassador, who the next day notified to the King the arrival of his illustrious visitor. Charles was received with the most profound respect, and entertained with a long series of feasts and shows in the utmost degree of royal splendor, but permitted scarcely to see the fair object of his chivalrous enterprise. The Spaniards, conceiving naturally enough that he could have been tempted to undertake it only by an extravagant inclination to the match, laboured incessantly to induce him to purchase it by the sacrifice of his religion, and the Pope wrote to him at great length to the same effect, delaying his dispensation till he received Charles's answer, many passages in which gave great offence to the Protestants at home. In the mean time Villiers, who, during his absence, had been created Duke of Buckingham, and Earl of Coventry, quarrelled openly with the Count d'Olivares, then the Prime Minister and favourite

of the King of Spain, and with the Earl of Bristol, and left the Court without the usual formalities, under the pretence of visiting a British fleet then in the Bay of Biscay; and became suddenly the greatest enemy to the match which he had so lately taken such extraordinary steps to forward. James, vexed by his importunities to break it off, and by the disgust conceived against it in England, as much on the score of the vast expense of the journey as from the usual unpopular opinion of any connection with Spain, found himself obliged to give way. The Prince, weary of the absence of his confidant, and of the new causes of delay which almost daily arose, determined to return, leaving in the hands of Bristol an instrument by which he bound himself to solemnize the marriage within fifteen days after the arrival of a second dispensation, which the death of Pope Gregory the fifteenth had rendered necessary. He joined his friend at St. Andero, and they arrived in London on the sixth of October, 1623. An express was dispatched the very next day to the Earl of Bristol to suspend all proceedings, and speedily followed by a positive demand of the aid of Spain to procure the restitution of the Palatinate, as a condition for the completion of the nuptials. This was angrily refused; and thus, chiefly through the rashness and levity of Buckingham, ended a treaty which had subsisted for seven years, and on which the eyes of all Europe had been bent with a peculiar attention and anxiety.

He was, immediately after his return, appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Steward of the Manor of Hampton Court, but his favour with the King was now waning. James, passive as he was, had at length become impatient of rule, or was perhaps terrified at the serious perplexities with which Buckingham's imperiousness had surrounded him. The Duke, at the meeting of a new Parliament, which was called chiefly to consider of that great affair, stated at large, at a conference of the two Houses, the motives of the Prince's journey, and the circumstances which had consequently occurred, ascribing the miscarriage

of the treaty to the duplicity of Spain, and to the misconduct of the Earl of Bristol; and told them, in the conclusion of his harangue, that the King had recalled that nobleman in order to subject him to a public enquiry, when in fact James had sent for him for the purpose of opposing his wisdom and his boldness to the intolerable insolence of Buckingham. Nothing could have mortified the King more effectually. His favourite had not only appealed from his opinion to that of the Parliament, of which James, and with good reason, was already abundantly jealous, but had aimed at, and indeed suddenly acquired, a great degree of popularity with that body. But this was not all. He availed himself instantly of this disposition in the Parliament to ruin the Treasurer Cranfield, who, during his absence in Spain, had repeatedly ventured to expostulate with him on the endless calls for money which had arisen from that expedition, as well as to give his advice independantly to the King on important matters of state. Cranfield and Bristol were impeached in the House of Commons, and the former, as may be seen more at large elsewhere in this work, was imprisoned, and enormously fined, but Bristol, a man of a lofty spirit, and undoubted integrity, exhibited a countercharge of high treason against the Duke, and so saved himself from punishment, though not from disgrace. Buckingham's last act of dominion over his absurdly indulgent master presently followed. James was forced by him to declare war against Spain, and died almost immediately after. Some faint rumour was raised that his death was purposely accelerated by a certain plaister applied to his breast by the Duke's direction, but the imputation has been spurned at by all creditable writers. If Buckingham shortened his life, it was by the slow poison of ingratitude.

The accession of Charles not only renewed, but increased, the measure of his favour. It had been expected, and very reasonably, that the Prince, on succeeding to the sovereign rule, would have abridged the extent of his power. The politicians trusted for

this to the cool and sober judgment which they knew his Majesty to possess; the courtiers, and other high-spirited men, to his resentment; for Buckingham's insolence to him was notorious, and it was no secret that he had even lifted his hand against Charles, on some dispute in a game of tennis, to strike him with a racquet: the people, always judging kindly, when they are allowed to judge for themselves, conceived that the King had endured him out of a dutiful respect to James's foibles, and would now give him up. All, however, were disappointed. "The new King," says Lord Clarendon, "from the death of the old even to the death of the Duke himself, discovering the most entire confidence in, and even friendship to, him that ever King had shewed to any subject: all preferments in Church and State given by him: all his kindred and friends promoted to the degree in honour, or riches, or offices, that he thought fit; and all his enemies and envyers discountenanced as he appointed." The Parliament, however, at least the new House of Commons, shewed a very different disposition. They declared against the war with Spain; refused the supplies necessary to maintain it; and grounded their denial on their sense of the Duke's misconduct in that country. Not content with this, they sifted the whole of his public life with the utmost asperity, and not only censured him by several distinct votes, but even carried up remonstrances against him to the Throne. Charles was unhappily prevailed on by him to dissolve that Parliament, as well as the next, which had proceeded against him on the old ground of the Earl of Bristol's impeachment. Plans to raise money, the legality of which was justly doubted, were now instituted, and hence originated that long scene of misery in which the Crown and the Parliament, inseparable supports to each other, crumbled into ruins, together with the happiness and the interests of the people.

While these matters were agitated, a treaty, which had been commenced before the late King's death, for the marriage of

Charles to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry the fourth of France, was concluded, and Buckingham was sent, in May, 1625, with great pomp, to Paris, to escort the Princess to England. Here again, as at Madrid, the turbulence of his passions produced an unhappy public effect. "He had the ambition," as Lord Clarendon informs us, "to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affections to, a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with the most importunate addresses, insomuch as when the King (of France) had brought his sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the Duke, to be by him conducted into England, the Duke, upon the departure of that Court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his reception, and, if he had pursued his attempt, he had been without doubt assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to decline the danger: but he swore in the instant that he would see, and speak with that lady, in spite of the strength and power of France; and from the time that the Queen arrived in England, he took all the ways he could to undervalue and exasperate that Court and nation." So deep and lasting a resentment, arising from such a cause, has been perhaps unheard of. The great historian goes on to say that he was ever after unceasingly assiduous in his encouragement of all who were most obnoxious to the King of France, against whom he lost no opportunity of incensing his own Sovereign; and that he took great pains to lessen Charles's affection to his young and beautiful Queen; and even brought himself, contrary to his nature, to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness, towards her; of which the Earl gives this most remarkable anecdote in proof—One day, when he unjustly apprehended that she had shewn some disrespect to his mother, he came into her presence with much passion, and after some very uncivil expostulations, told her that she should repent it; to which her Majesty answering with some quickness, he desired

her to recollect that there had been Queens in England who had lost their heads.

In the gratification of this unreasonable spirit of vengeance he persuaded Charles, within little more than a year after his nuptials, to declare war against France, and took on himself the chief command, both by land and sea. He sailed on the twenty-seventh of June, 1626, with ten men of war, and a multitude of other ships, having on board a land force of seven thousand men, with the view first of relieving the huguenot town of Rochelle, which, in its dread of offending France past forgiveness, at that time declined his aid. He then attacked the Isle of Rhe, in its neighbourhood, which was strongly fortified; and after five months spent in ineffectual endeavours, sometimes beaten, sometimes tricked, and always unsuccessful; and having lost between two and three thousand men, and forty colours; returned with the reputation of total military incapacity. Charles, however, received him with unabated grace and affection; but the popular outcry was excessive, and, in a Parliament, which had been lately called, the House of Commons declared him to have been the cause of all the evils and dangers under which the King, and the Kingdom, suffered. In the mean time a second fleet sailed to the same coast, which was intrusted to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Denbigh, and which had no better success. A third expedition was presently after undertaken, now at the request of the Rochellers, which the Duke, anxious to retrieve the reputation which he had lately lost in the same service, again resolved to command in person, and in August, 1628, arrived at Portsmouth, to prepare for his embarkation.

On the twenty-third of that month, having just risen, and proceeding to the apartment in which his breakfast was prepared, accompanied by the Duke de Soubise, and several English and French officers, he was stabbed to the heart by an unknown person, at the very moment that the hangings were held up to admit him into the room. He drew out the knife from the wound,

and, uttering only the words—"The villain hath killed me,"—was dead in an instant. No one saw the stroke. The French who were near him, and speaking with the usual vehemence and action of their country, were for a moment in some danger, for those who understood not the language suspected that the conversation was angry, and that some one of them was the assassin. Presently, however, a hat was found on the floor, in the lining of which a paper was sewed, containing a few lines of the declaration lately published against the Duke by the House of Commons. There could be no doubt that it belonged to the murderer. All was tumult and confusion. Several ran out of the house to seek him, naturally supposing that he had lost no time in attempting to escape; when one of them, seeing a man without a hat walking very composedly near the door, exclaimed,—"Here is the fellow who killed the Duke;" and all crying out together—"which is he?"—the man answered with the utmost calmness, "I am he;" and added, as some have said, recollecting the suspicion which had fallen on the French, "I am the man who did the deed—let no man suffer who is innocent." Many rushed on him to kill him, and he endeavoured to meet the thrusts of their swords; while others, with more presence of mind, protected him. He was at length seized unhurt. He was presently known to be John Felton, a man of good family in Suffolk, and a lieutenant in the army, who had served in the Isle of Rhe, where his captain had been killed; and it was rumoured that he had entertained a deep resentment against the Duke for having refused to promote him to the command of his company. But when order was sufficiently restored to admit of questioning him with some coolness, and he was asked how, and by whom, he had been instigated, he answered, with the greatest firmness, that no man living could have persuaded him to perpetrate the act, and that he had imparted his intention to no one: that if his hat were sought for, they would find his motives written in it: that he had used that precaution under the impression that he should have been put to death

instantly after he had killed the Duke: and that he thought he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause than in delivering his country from so great an enemy. The whole kingdom was struck with horror at this dreadful assassination. Even the Duke's most bitter enemies deplored, or, in decency, affected to deplore it. England could not at that time furnish monsters sufficiently depraved to apologize for a frantic enthusiast who had murdered even a bad minister.

In considering the marvellous power and prosperity which waited on the Duke of Buckingham's career, as well as the manner of its termination, we may regard with diminished scorn the error of more simple ages, which usually ascribed such tides of good fortune, so suddenly and tragically turned, to I know not what bargains with supernatural agents, who were supposed to lease out terms of human felicity, and to deprive their tenants of all at a stipulated moment. Superstition, however, seems to have exhausted itself in recording an uncommon number of ominous facts which were thought to prognosticate his death. Among these, the story of the apparition of his father, Sir George Villiers, too remarkable to be here wholly unnoticed, and too tedious to be recited, has been told by Lord Clarendon with such seriousness of relation, and such circumstantial exactness, that, however lightly we may be inclined to think of it, there can be little doubt that his Lordship gave it full credit.

That great historian has left a character of the Duke, conceived in a spirit of candour so pure, and with such incomparable judgment, and delivered with such a simple grandeur and sweetness of expression, that it is scarcely less painful to be under the necessity of abridging it, than it would be to increase the imperfections of this little memoir by wholly suppressing it. "This great man," says Lord Clarendon, "was a person of a noble nature, and generous disposition, and of such other endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great King. He understood the arts of a Court, and all the learning

which is professed there, exactly well. By long practice in business, under a master that discoursed excellently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in indoctrinating his young unexperienced favourite, who he knew would be always looked upon as the work of his own hands, he had obtained a quick conception and apprehension of business, and had the habit of speaking very gracefully and pertinently. He was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige, from which much of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted. His kindness and affection to his friends was so vehement, that they were so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends, and to make war upon all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would: and it cannot be denied that he was an enemy in the same excess, and prosecuted those he looked upon as his enemies with the utmost rigour and animosity, and was not easily induced to reconciliation; and yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular; and when he was in the highest passion, he was so far from stooping to any dissimulation, whereby his displeasure might be concealed and covered till he had attained his revenge, the low method of courts, that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office before he first told him what he was to expect from him; and reproached him with the injuries he had done, with so much generosity that the person found it in his power to receive satisfaction in the way he would choose for himself.

"His single misfortune was, which indeed was productive of many greater, that he never made a worthy and noble friendship with a man so near his equal that he would frankly advise him for his honour and true interest, against the current, or rather the torrent, of his impetuous passions; which was partly the vice

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of the time, when the Court was not replenished with great choice of excellent men, and partly the vice of the persons who were most worthy to be applied to, and (who) looked upon his youth, and his obscurity before his rise, as obligations to gain their friendships by extraordinary application. Then his ascent was rather a flight than a growth; and he was such a darling of fortune, that he was at the top before he was well seen at the bottom; and, as if he had been born a favourite, he was supreme the first month he came to court; and it was want of confidence, not of credit, that he had not at first (that) which he obtained afterwards; never meeting with the least obstruction, from his setting out till he was as great as he could be: so that he wanted dependants before he thought he could want coadjutors. Nor was he very fortunate in the election of those dependants, very few of his servants having been ever qualified enough to assist or advise him; and they were intent only upon growing rich under him, not upon their master's growing good as well as great; insomuch as he was, throughout his fortune, a much wiser man than any servant or friend he had. Let the fault or misfortune be what or whence it will, it may reasonably be believed that if he had been blessed with one faithful friend, who had been qualified with wisdom and integrity, that great person would have committed as few faults, and done as transcendent worthy actions, as any man that shined in such a sphere in that age in Europe; for he was of an excellent disposition, and of a mind very capable of advice and counsel. He was in his nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful; nor was it ever known that the temptation of money swayed him to do an unjust or unkind thing; and though he left a very great estate to his heirs, he owed no part of it to his own industry or solicitation, but to the impatient humour of two Kings, his masters, who would make his fortune equal to his titles; and the one as much above other men as the other was: and he considered it no otherwise than as their's, and left it at his death engaged for the Crown, almost to the value of

it. If he had an immoderate ambition, with which he is charged (and it is a weed, if a weed, apt to grow in the best soils), it doth not appear that it was his nature, or that he brought it with him to the Court, but rather found it there, and was a garment necessary for that air; nor was it more in his power to be without promotion, and titles, and wealth, than for an healthy man to sit in the sun, in the brightest dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no ambition, who was so seated in the hearts of two such masters."

The private life of the Duke of Buckingham, as indeed Lord Clarendon's character of him might incline us to expect, seems to have been nearly irreproachable. It has been objected against him, and strenuously denied, that his matrimonial infidelities were unbounded. It is however allowed by those who have so censured him that he was a tender and indulgent husband, and that his Duchess was the sole mistress of his heart. He bequeathed to her, for her life, all his mansion-houses, with a fourth part of his lands in jointure, and an absolute power to dispose of the whole of his personal estate. His affection to those of his own blood transported him, as we have seen, beyond all measure of prudence in their gratification. His magnificent and bounteous disposition made him, in spite of the deficiencies of his education, a patron of learning, and of the fine arts; among other proofs of which we find that he purchased at Antwerp a curious library of Arabic manuscripts, to present to the University of Cambridge, of which he was Chancellor; and formed a collection of pictures so superb, that for a very small part of them, which had been bought for him by Rubens, he paid ten thousand pounds. He possessed indeed a single piece, an Ecce Homo by Titian, for which the great collector, Thomas Earl of Arundel, had offered him seven thousand.

He married Catherine, daughter and sole heir of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland of his family, and afterwards, to the great offence of Charles the first, wife of Randal M'Donnel,

Marquis of Antrim. That lady brought him three sons; James, who died an infant; George, his successor, of whom hereafter; and Francis, who was slain by the rebels in a skirmish at Kingston on Thames, at the head of a troop which he had raised with the secret view of rescuing the King from Carisbrooke Castle. He left also one daughter, Mary, married, first, to Charles, Lord Herbert, son and heir to Philip, Earl of Montgomery, who dying soon after, she took to her second husband James, Duke of Richmond and Lenox. The Duke of Buckingham lies buried on the north side of King Henry the seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

Engraved by J. Jenkins.

WILLIAM HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE.

OB. 1630.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, August 1, 1825.

WILLIAM HERBERT,

EARL OF PEMBROKE.

THIS noble person, who has scarcely ever yet been named but to be praised, is generally called, but perhaps with too strict a genealogical nicety, the third of his family who held that title: it might be not only more liberal, but possibly more correct, to style him the fifth. He was the elder of the two sons of Earl Henry, by his third Countess, the celebrated Mary, daughter of Sir Henry, and sister of Sir Philip Sydney; was born at Wilton, on the eighth of February, 1580; and at the age of thirteen went to complete his education at new New College, in Oxford, where he remained for about two years. We do not hear that he travelled, and it is probable that he left the university to take up a long residence with his parents, and to submit his ardent spirit to the wholesome strictness of their governance. At a date so late as the nineteenth of April, 1597, Rowland White, the agreeably gossiping correspondent of many of the nobility, but especially of the Sydneys, says, in a letter published in Collins's Collection, to Sir Robert Sydney, "my Lord Harbert hath, with much adoe, brought his father to consent that he may live at London, yet not before the next spring." He came accordingly about that time, and we have, from the same hand, a chain of small circumstances which sufficiently let us into his history for the two following years, narrated with that delightful freshness of unstudied relation which renders the intelligence of private letters so peculiarly interesting.—He arrives in the summer of 1599, during a sudden levy of troops on the rumour of a Spanish invasion—intreats his father to lend him armour and a steed—is named to attend the Queen's person, with two hundred horse—lives amidst the musters,

and "swaggers it among the men of warre"—becomes a courtier, and is blamed "for his cold and weak manner of pursuing her Majesty's favour"—is accounted a melancholy young man—is at length highly favoured by her, and expected "to prove a great man in court"—prepares for masquing and tilting; "my Lord Harbert," says White, in one of those epistles to Sir Robert, in the autumn of 1600, "resolves this year to shew himself a man of arms, and prepares for it; and, because yt is his first tyme of running, yt were good he came in with some excellent devise;" and, in a following letter, "my Lord Harbert is practising at Greenwich: he leapes; he daunces; he sings; he give counter-buffes; he makes his horse run with more speede," &c. We descry in these small notices the dawnings of those bright features of character which afterwards distinguished him—an eager and lofty spirit: an indignant disdain of the common arts of a court; a disposition to serious reflection; and a cheerful readiness to cultivate favour which he might honourably acquire. Elizabeth easily discovered the merit which he scorned to force upon her notice, and, had she lived longer, he would, doubtless, have held a prominent station on the page of history.

On the nineteenth of January, 1600-1, he succeeded to his father's dignities, and was among the first Knights of the Garter elected after the accession of James. His qualities, however, were not of that light and pliant order which usually bespoke favour in that Prince's court. He was appointed Governor of Portsmouth in 1609, but had no office worthy of his rank till 1615, when he succeeded Carre, Earl of Somerset, in that of Lord Chamberlain of the Household. He was afterwards Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Wood, who is most likely to be right on that head, informs us that he was unanimously chosen in 1626, but several other writers date his election to the Chancellorship in 1615. About the time that he acquired that dignity, he resigned his appointment of Lord Chamberlain, to enable James to give it to his brother Philip, who afterwards succeeded him in

the Earldom, and accepted in lieu of it that of Steward of the Household; and in 1630 received from Charles the first the offices of Warden and Chief Justice of the forests south of Trent, and Warden of the Stanneries. Of all the great men, however, of his time Lord Pembroke took the least concern in public affairs, for the qualities of his mind and heart were wholly irreconcileable to the character, always weak, frequently base, and too often wicked, of the reigns in which he flourished. What we know of him we owe therefore to the reverence and affection in which he was held, not as a statesman or a courtier, but for all those excellencies which constitute, in the large and original sense of the phrase, a perfect gentleman. His Character, as Lord Orford justly observes, "is not only one of the most amiable in Lord Clarendon's history, but is one of the best drawn;" nor can the report of the great historian be ascribed to the political partiality with which he has been sometimes charged, Lord Pembroke having died long before the commencement of the rebellion. That beautiful piece has been of late years more than once republished, but these pages must not, therefore, be deprived of so useful an ornament.

"William, Earl of Pembroke," says Lord Clarendon, "was the most universally beloved and esteemed of any man of that age, and having a great office in the court, he made the court itself better esteemed, and more reverenced in the country; and as he had a great number of friends of the best men, so no man had ever the confidence to avow himself his enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful speaker upon any subject, having a good proportion of learning, and a ready wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it; of a pleasant and facetious humour, and a disposition affable, generous, and magnificent. He was master of a great fortune from his ancestors, and had a great addition by his wife, which he enjoyed during his life, she outliving him; but all served not his expense, which was only limited by his great mind, and occasions to use it nobly.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

He lived many years about the court before in it, and never by it, being rather regarded and esteemed by King James than loved and favoured. After the foul fall of the Earl of Somerset he was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's house, more for the court's sake than his own, and the court appeared with the more lustre because he had the government of that province. As he spent and lived upon his own fortune, so he stood upon his own feet, without any other support than of his proper virtue and merit, and lived towards the favourites with that decency as would not suffer them to censure or reproach his master's judgment and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly beloved in the court, because he never desired to get that for himself which others laboured for, but was still ready to promote the pretences of worthy men; and he was equally celebrated in the conntry, for having received no obligations from the court which might corrupt or sway his affections and judgment; so that all who were displeased and unsatisfied in the court, or with the court, were always inclined to put themselves under his banner, if he would have admitted them; and yet he did not so reject them as to make them chuse another shelter, but so far suffered them to depend on him, that he could restrain them from breaking out beyond private resentments and murmurs.

"He was a great lover of his country, and of the religion and justice which he believed could only support it, and his friendships were only with men of those principles; and as his conversation was most with men of the most pregnant parts and understanding, so towards any such who needed support or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. Sure never man was placed in a court that was fitter for that soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that air; yet his memory must not be flattered, that his virtues and good inclinations may be believed. He was not without some allay of vice, and without being clouded with great infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He

indulged to himself the pleasures of all kinds, almost in all excesses. To women, whether out of his natural constitution, or for want of his domestic content and delight (in which he was most unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his wife's fortune by taking her person into the bargain) he was immoderately given up: but therein he likewise retained such a power and jurisdiction over his very appetite, that he was not so much transported with beauty, and outward allurements, as with those advantages of the mind as manifested an extraordinary wit, and spirit, and knowledge, and administered great pleasure in the conversation. To these he sacrificed himself, his precious time, and much of his fortune; and some, who were nearest his trust and friendship, were not without apprehension that his natural vivacity and vigour of mind begun to lessen and decline by those excessive indulgencies."

Anthony Wood, by placing him in other points of view, exhibits to us new graces in a character to which Lord Clarendon had already invited so much respect. "He was," says Wood, "the very picture and viva effigies of nobility; a person truly generous: a singular lover of learning, and the professors thereof, and therefore by the academians elected their Chancellor. His person was rather majestic than elegant, and his presence, whether quiet or in motion, was full of stately gravity. His mind was purely heroic: often stout, but never disloyal; and so vehement an opposer of the Spaniard, that when that match fell under consideration in the latter end of the reign of King James the first, he would sometimes rouse, to the trepidation of that King; yet kept in favour still, for his Majesty knew plain dealing, as a jewel in all men, so was in a Privy Counseller an ornamental duty; and the same true heartedness commended him to King Charles the first. He was not only a great favourer of learned and ingenious men, but was himself learned; and endowed to admiration with a poetical genie, as by those amorous and not inelegant airs and poems of his composition doth evidently appear; some of

which had musical notes set to them by Henry Lawes, and Nicholas Laneare. All that he hath extant were published with this title—' Poems, written by William, Earl of Pembroke, &c. many of which are answered by Sir Benjamin Rudyard; with other poems written by them, occasionally, and apart.'"

The little volume here referred to by Wood made its appearance under singular circumstances. Lord Pembroke, in the chivalrous spirit of earlier days, had elected as the goddess of his chaste idolatry Christian, daughter of Lord Bruce, afterwards the celebrated Countess of Devonshire, and addressed to her numerous poetical effusions. These she had carefully preserved, and, when verging on old age, put them into the hands of Dr. Donne, to be prepared by him for the press. Donne dedicated them to herself, and it is difficult at this time to conceive any thing more ridiculous than that a widow of sixty should have connived at the publication of so gross an offering to vanity as that with which the dedication concludes—" The church that covers his sacred ashes must submit to time, and at last lie buried with him; but this monument that your Ladyship hath erected to his memory will outlast the calculations of all astrologers; who, though they could foretel the time that he should leave us, could set no date to the fame that he would leave behind him; which though it hath lain asleep in all this noise of drums and trumpets, when all the muses seemed to be fled, and to have left nothing behind them but a few lame iambics, canting at the corners of our desolate streets, yet they are now content to be awakened by your Ladyship's command, and under your patronage to come abroad, and meet and salute that place that gave them their first being; and to tell the world that whatever was excellently said to any lady in all these poems was meant of you, and, that the poet himself being inspired by your Ladyship, you only, that are descended from an ancient and royal family, have the right and power to give life and perpetuity to so noble a person." These poems, as might be expected, are, with one or two small excep-

tions, of the amatory class; but they exhibit powers of mind, and of expression, which could not but have been successfully applied to higher and graver themes, and are graced by an elegance of language, and a correctness of versification, of which his time affords but few examples. His editor, Donne, must have blushed for the miserable homeliness of his own muse when he copied such lines as these—

"Wrong not, dear Empress of my heart,
The merits of true passion,
With thinking that he feels no smart
Who sues for no compassion;

Since, if my plaints seem not to prove
The conquest of thy beauty,
It comes not from defect of love,
But from excess of duty.

For, knowing that I sue to serve
A saint of such perfection
As all desire, but none deserve,
A place in her affection,

I rather chuse to want relief
Than venture the revealing;
Where glory recommends the grief,
Despair destroys the healing.

Silence in love betrays more woe
Than words, though ne'er so witty:
The beggar that is dumb, you know,
May challenge double pity.

Then wrong not, dear heart of my heart,
My true, though secret passion.
He smarteth most that hides his smart,
And sues for no compassion."

Or the following; addressed to a lady weeping.

"Dry those fair, those crystal eyes,
Which like growing fountains rise
To drown their banks: grief's sullen brooks
Would better flow from furrow'd looks:
Thy lovely face was never meant
To be the seat of discontent.
Then clear those wat'rish stars again,
That else portend a lasting rain,
Lest the clouds that settle there
Prolong my winter all the year,
And thy example others make
In love with sorrow for thy sake."

To these specimens, which have been inserted by Mr. Park, in his late edition of Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, I will venture to add two others, from the original. The first, for the varied ingenuity used in the expression of a very common, however false observation.

"Disdain me still, that I may ever love,
For who his love enjoys can love no more:
The war once past, with peace men cowards prove,
And ship's return'd lie rotting on the shore,
Then, though thou frown, I'll say thou art most fair;
And still I'll love, though still I must despair.

As heat's to life so is desire to love,
For these once quench'd both life and love are done.
Let not my sighs nor tears thy virtue move ;
Like basest metals do not melt too soon.
Laugh at my woes, although I ever mourn.
Love surfeits with reward : his nurse is scorn."

The second, on his lady singing, chiefly for the admirable taste and correctness with which it characterises the melodies of certain birds : and to those who may accuse me of attempting to dignify trifles, let me answer that it is, perhaps, in the treatment of such trifles that we find the surest indications of expanded genius ; of quick and comprehensive observation.

" Shepherd, gentle shepherd, hark,
As one that canst call rightest
Birds by their name,
Both wild and tame,
And in their notes delightest.
What voice is this, I prithee mark,
With so much music in it?
Too sweet methinks to be a lark,
Too loud to be a linnet.

Nightingales are more confus'd,
And descant more at random ;
Whose warbling throats,
To hold out notes,
Their airy tunes abandon.
Angels stoop not now a' days ;
Such choiristers forsake us :
Though syrens may
Our loves betray,
And wretched prisoners make us.

Yet they must use some other way
Than singing, to deprive us
Of our poor lives, since such sweet lays
As these would soon revive us."

This nobleman married Mary, eldest daughter and coheir of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury of the Talbots, and had by her two sons ; James, born in 1616, and Henry, in 1621, neither of whom survived infancy. He died suddenly, at Baynard Castle, on the tenth of April, 1630, and was buried in the cathedral of Salisbury. The time of his death, which perhaps I should not have mentioned here but that it may serve to explain a passage in the extract given above from Donne's dedication, is said to have been doubly predicted. " He died," says Wood, " according to the calculation of his nativity, made several years before, by Mr. Thomas Allen, of Gloucester Hall ;" and Lord Clarendon relates,

with much exactness of circumstance, that, on the evening of the day of his departure, it was observed in a party of his friends who were supping together at an inn on their way to London, that "he had now outlived the day which his tutor, Sandford, had prognosticated upon his nativity he would not outlive." Granger informs us of a lamentable tradition in the family, that when his body was opened, in order to be embalmed, upon the incision being made, he lifted up one of his hands.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

WILLIAM SEYMOUR, MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.

OB. 1660.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Septr 1, 1825.

WILLIAM SEYMOUR,

FIRST MARQUIS OF HERTFORD;

For it has been thought fit here rather to designate that great and good man by the title under which he adorns the page of history, than by that of a higher dignity, which was conferred on him after he had performed all his services, and when he was on the very eve of receiving their eternal reward.

He was the second son, but at length heir, by Honora, daughter of Sir Richard Rogers, of Bryanston, in Dorsetshire, of Edward Lord Beauchamp, eldest son of Edward Seymour, Earl Hertford, who was eldest son, by the second marriage, of the Protector, Edward Duke of Somerset. He received his education in Magdalen College, in Oxford, and had formed even then a tender attachment, the consequences of which embittered many years of his early manhood. The witty and accomplished Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles, fifth Earl of Lenox, who was a lineal descendant from Henry the Seventh, and uncle to James the First, had conceived an affection for him, and privately encouraged his addresses. Her residence at the Palace of Woodstock, which perhaps first produced a familiarity between them, was highly favourable to their intercourse, which was long carried on in profound secrecy, but it was at length discovered in 1609 that they had entered into a formal contract of marriage. James, not only affronted, but, from motives which will be stated more at large in a sketch of the Lady's life, to be found elsewhere in this work, alarmed, caused them to be called before the Privy Council, and they were severely reprimanded; but this proceeding produced the very consequence which James desired to avoid; for Arabella, sensible that her reputation had been wounded by

the inquiry, was in a manner forced into a marriage with Mr. Seymour, which becoming publicly known in the spring of the following year, she was committed to a close, though private, custody, and he to the Tower of London. Thus separated, they concerted means to escape, which both effected on the same day, the third of June, 1611, amidst circumstances which fell little short of the fictions of chivalrous romance. The poor Lady however was unfortunately taken on the sea, near Calais, and imprisoned for the short remainder of her life; but Mr. Seymour eluded his pursuers, and arrived safely in Flanders, where he seems to have resided till 1621, when he succeeded to the titles of Earl of Hertford, and Baron Beauchamp, on the death of his grandfather.

This misfortune, operating on a disposition already perhaps too much addicted to retirement and reserve, induced him to seclude himself from the society of all but a few very dear friends. He resided for many years almost entirely in the country, dividing his time between his studies, to which he was passionately attached, and the repair of his estates, which had been sadly mutilated after the downfall of his great ancestor. His inclination, and his vote, when he attended in Parliament, went for some years after the accession of Charles the First with the popular party, but the eagerness of its leaders for the blood of Strafford convinced him of the true nature of their designs, and from that period he not only threw into the scale of the Crown the whole weight of his affection, his popularity, and his replenished revenues, but suddenly assumed, together with the character of a counsellor and a commander, a degree of activity which had before seemed foreign from his very nature. In 1640 the King advanced him to the title of Marquis of Hertford, and about the same time appointed him Governor to the Prince of Wales; an office conferred by Charles for the sake of proving the fulness of his confidence in this nobleman, and accepted by him merely in testimony of his profound duty and obedience; for, says Lord

Clarendon, "it is very true he wanted some of those qualities which might have been wished to be in a person to be trusted in the education of a great and hopeful Prince, and in forming his mind and manners in so tender an age. He was of an age not fit for much activity and fatigue, and loved, and was even wedded so much to, his ease, that he loved his book above all exercises; and had even contracted such a laziness of mind that he had no delight in an open and liberal conversation, and cared not to discourse and argue on those points which he understood very well, only for the trouble of contending: and could never impose upon himself the pain that was necessary to be undergone in such a perpetual attendance. But then those lesser duties might be otherwise provided for, and he could well support the dignity of a Governor, and exact that diligence from others which he could not exercise himself; and his honour was so unblemished that none durst murmur against the designation, and therefore his Majesty thought him very worthy of the high trust, against which there was no other exception but that he was not ambitious of it, nor in truth willing to receive and undergo the charge, so contrary to his natural constitution." The first act of his government was a positive refusal to obey an order of the Parliament respecting the Prince.

He subscribed at York, on the thirteenth of June, 1642, the declaration made by the Peers of their opinion of the King's motives in his dispute with the Parliament, and of his sincere desire to avoid the impending war; and was presently after appointed, by commission under the Great Seal, Lieutenant General of all the western parts of the kingdom, with power to levy men, as he might think necessary for his Majesty's service; and, quitting the King at Beverley, set out immediately for those counties, in which he possessed great estates, and yet greater public esteem. He had magnified overmuch the influence which he expected to derive from those sources, and, instead of using that activity which the occasion required, tacitly left the country

to exercise an option between the cause of the King and that of the rebels. In the mean time the enemy, under the Earl of Bedford, with the vigilance commonly used by those who espouse the faulty side of a question, had projected to surprise him at Wells, where, with only four troops of cavalry, and about an hundred foot, he had first taken up his quarters; and, although they failed in that design, forced him, even within few days after his arrival, to retreat, which he did with great gallantry, and without loss, to Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, and from thence into Cornwall, where leaving a small part of his force, he transported himself, with the remainder, into Glamorganshire, and then joined the King at Oxford. Shortly after, however, upon some successes obtained by Prince Rupert in Devonshire and Cornwall, he was again dispatched into those parts, and Prince Maurice appointed to serve under him. He was now more diligent, and more successful, in his levies, which, added to the few troops which marched with him from Oxford, presently placed him at the head of a body of sixteen or seventeen hundred horse, and about a thousand foot. Thus recruited, he had no small share in the victories gained over Sir William Waller at Landsdown, and at Roundway; but on the capture of Weymouth, unhappy differences arose between him and the two Princes, the King's nephews, on the question whether he, as commander in the west, or Prince Rupert, as commander in chief of the King's army, possessed the right to nominate a governor of that town. The Marquis, at the King's earnest instance, consented with a good grace to wave his claim, but this dispute seems to have terminated his military services, for which, to say the truth, he appears to have had few qualifications beyond his personal courage, and his perfect fidelity to the royal cause. He retired with the King to Oxford; was appointed Groom of the Stole; and soon after resigned his superintendance of the Prince of Wales. On the twenty-fourth of October, in the same year, 1643, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

He now became the constant counsellor, companion, and friend, of the unhappy Charles, to whom he wholly devoted himself. In all negotiations and treaties with the rebels, public or private, he was the prime agent; and such was their reverence for his virtues and his honour, that they seem to have allowed him to converse and correspond with them with the utmost freedom, and even to have held his person sacred, for he frequently put himself into their power. The sums lavished by him, from his own purse, for the service of the Crown, were prodigious, independently of the great charge of his military levies. He is said to have brought at one time to the King sixty thousand pounds, contributed by himself, and some of his friends; and he supplied the necessities of Charles the second, during the fifteen years of his exile, with nearly five thousand pounds annually. The private nature of the innumerable services performed by him between the period when he relinquished his military command and that of the King's death has in a great measure excluded them from the notice of historians, from whom we gain no further information of him previously to the Restoration than that he was a commissioner for the King at the treaties of Oxford, Uxbridge, and Newport, and that he was one of the four faithful noblemen who were permitted to lay the body of their murdered master in its grave.

He was of course dismissed by the usurpers from his office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and restored by a letter from King Charles the Second to that body, three weeks before he returned to repossess his crown. The Marquis met him at Dover on his landing, and the next day received from his hands at Canterbury the Order of the Garter, to which he had been elected in Jersey on the thirteenth of January, 1649. He was immediately after restored by an act of Parliament to the title of Duke of Somerset, which had been forfeited by the attainder of the Protector, his great grandfather; and the King, when he passed the bill, observed to both Houses that " as this was an act of an

extraordinary nature, so it was done for an extraordinary person, who had merited as much of his royal father and himself as any subject could do; and therefore he hoped no man would envy it, because he had done what a good master should do to such a servant." The Marquis survived these tributes of just gratitude scarcely five months: he died on the twenty-fourth of October, 1660, and was buried at Great Bedwin, in Wilts, having been twice married; first, as has been before observed, to the Lady Arabella Stuart, by whom he had no issue; and, secondly, to Frances, eldest daughter of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and sister and coheir to the second Earl Robert, the Parliament General. By the latter Lady he had five sons, of whom William, Robert, and Thomas, died young and unmarried; and four daughters; Mary, married to Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea; Frances, successively to Richard Viscount Molineux, Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and Conyers, son and heir to Conyers Lord Darcy; Jane, wife to Charles Lord Clifford, of Londesborough, son and heir to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington; and Arabella, who died unmarried. His two sons who lived to maturity were Henry Lord Beauchamp, who died in 1656, leaving an only son, William, successor to his grandfather; and John, who on the death of that William, his nephew, in 1671, unmarried, became fourth Duke of Somerset.

Lord Clarendon, whose admirable censures must never be omitted, says that "the Marquis of Hertford was a man of great honour, interest, and estate, and of an universal esteem over the whole kingdom; and, though he had received many and continued disobligations from the Court, from the time of the King's coming to the Crown as well as during the reign of King James, in both which seasons more than ordinary care had been taken to discountenance and lessen his interest, yet he had carried himself with a notable steadiness from the beginning of the Parliament in the support and defence of the King's power and dignity, notwithstanding all his allies, and those with whom he had the

greatest familiarity and friendship, were of the opposite party, and never concurred with them against the Earl of Strafford, whom he was known not to love, nor in any other extravagancy: and then he was not to be shaken in his affection to the government of the Church, though it was enough known that he was in no degree biassed to any great inclination to the person of any Churchman; and, with all this, that party carried themselves towards him with profound respect, not presuming to venture their own credit in endeavouring to lessen his. He was a man of very good parts, and conversant in books, both in the Latin and Greek languages, and of a clear courage; yet he was so wholly given up to a country life, where he lived in splendour, that he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for business."

Engraved by T.A. Dean.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

DAUGHTER OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.

OB. 1662.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HONTHORST, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF CRAVEN.

London, Published by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East, Feby 1, 1826.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

Few persons have been more celebrated than this lady for virtues, talents, strength of mind, sweetness of temper, and gaiety of heart. These praises however have been bestowed but in the way of general eulogy, and we can collect few particulars of her but from the dry details of public history, which, with an exactness perhaps too fastidious, usually rejects those characteristic anecdotes in which biography delights. Other circumstances too have concurred to cloud her story. She was withdrawn from her country at an age too early to admit of much previous observation there, beyond such as the amiable qualities of her childhood might have excited, and placed among a people to whose phlegmatic gravity, and formal manners, those of her maturity were perhaps generally in a great measure indifferent. Above all she became an exile, experienced comparative poverty, and was neglected by her friends, and of the history of the unfortunate much will be always lost.

She was the only daughter of James the sixth of Scotland and Anne, his Queen, and was born in that country on the nineteenth of August, 1596. Her father, soon after his arrival to take possession of the crown of England, gave the charge of her education, with the name of preceptor, to John, first Lord Harrington, a nobleman not less qualified for that office by an acute judgement, and by the variety and elegance of his acquirements, than by the strictness of his morals, and the refined politeness of his manners. All that might have been expected from such a pupil, under such a director, was obtained, and when the customary etiquette of the Court at length allowed her to appear publicly in it, she became at once the object of general approbation, mixed with a tenderness of regard that almost deserved the name of love. Her

features were by no means faultless, but they abounded in that fascinating expression which may be called the soul of beauty, while the brilliancy of her understanding and accomplishments shone with a mild and inoffensive lustre through a veil of the purest simplicity and candour. Several suitors had aspired to her hand, the most remarkable of whom was the afterwards celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, for whom his parent and predecessor, Charles the Ninth of Sweden, demanded her in marriage by a formal embassy in 1609, and was refused. Her father at length determined to accede to the proposals of the Elector Palatine, Frederic the Fifth, who was the most powerful of the protestant Princes of the Empire, and owed his preference chiefly to James's warm attachment to that faith. Frederic arrived in London at the close of the year 1612, and, by a good fortune which rarely attends such marriages, not only became ardently enamoured of the Princess, but in an equal measure captivated her affections.

They were married in the banquetting-house at Whitehall on the fourteenth of February, 1613, N. S. with a splendor which historians, however carelessly they may have passed over the more important parts of Elizabeth's story, have not failed to commemorate with diffuse minuteness. Suffice it to say on this head, that the sum lavished on the celebration amounted to considerably more than one hundred thousand pounds, and that the jewels worn by the King and Queen, and the Prince of Wales, as Sir John Finett informs us, James himself declared "in conversation," were of the value of nine hundred thousand. In the meantime the portion of the bride was but forty thousand. The match was hailed by the utmost popular applause, but met with less favour at Court; the King treated it with indifference, and the Queen openly held it in aversion. She was used to call her daughter, in contempt, "Goodwife Palsgrave; and the unfavourable opinion which Prince, afterwards King, Charles had formed of the bridegroom may be inferred from the coarse commencement of a short letter subsequently written by him to

the favourite Buckingham—"Steenie, I send you herewith letters to my sister and brother: I place them so because I think the grey mare the better horse." These prejudices however were confined to the royal family; for Finett, writing on the twenty-third of October, 1612, to Mr. Trumbull, the English Resident at Brussels, of Frederic's first appearance at the Court, says, "He hath most happily deceived good men's doubts and ill men's expectations; report of envy, malice, or weak judgement, having painted him in so ill colours as the most here, and especially our ladies and gentlewomen, who held themselves not a little interested in the handsome choice of her Grace's husband, prepared themselves to see that with sorrow which they now apprehend with much gladness." He was in fact a Prince by no means deficient in natural talents or accomplishments, but qualified neither by nature or art to direct the councils of a state, or to defend it in the field.

They remained in London till the tenth of April, when the King and Queen accompanied them to Rochester, and took leave of them there, and they embarked at Gravesend for Flushing, and proceeded in great pomp to Heidelburgh, the capital of the Palatinate. There for six years they reigned, with equal prosperity and popularity, in the most beautiful country, and perhaps over the happiest people of Germany, when in a moment of blind and silly ambition they sacrificed those incomparable advantages to the mere sound of a regal title, and an ill-founded reputation of independent sovereignty. The kingdom of Bohemia, originally elective, had been brought by the genius and power of Charles the fifth under the dominion of Austria, and rendered hereditary. Ferdinand, the fifth King of that House, was a zealous papist, and Bohemia had been called the cradle of the reformation. A powerful party opposed his election, for that form was still used, with great firmness. At length they openly revolted; formed a provisional government; and, having offered the crown to the Dukes of Savoy and Saxony, by whom it was successively refused,

were induced by their hopes from the good will and strength of his father-in-law to proffer it to the Elector Palatine. Frederic returned a cool answer, and demanded time to deliberate. James earnestly dissuaded him from accepting it, and even forewarned him that in the event of an unprosperous issue he was to expect no assistance from England. The entreaties however of his own family, in which his lovely consort is said to have earnestly joined, at length prevailed, and she was crowned at Prague, on the seventh of November, 1619, three days after the coronation of her husband.

Ferdinand, who had lately become emperor, lost no time in issuing his Ban, declaring Frederic a traitor and rebel against the Empire, and deprived of his Electoral dignity and estate, and prepared to invade not only Bohemia but also the Palatinate. James, whom the English would have willingly supported in aiding his son-in-law with troops, kept his word, and would interfere no further than by various negotiations which had no other effect than to render him the scorn and ridicule of Europe. At length, on the ninth of November, 1620, Frederic was discomfited, under the walls of Prague, in one of the most decisive actions ever fought, and fled on the night of that fatal day, with his Queen, then great with child, to Breslau, one hundred and twenty miles from the field of battle. A letter written by her to her father, in the forlorn hour of her arrival there, remains in the British Museum.

"Je ne veux importuner V. M. d'un trop longue lettre. Le Baron de Dona ne faudra d'informer V. M. de malheur qui nous est arrivé, et nous a contraint de quitter Prague, et venir en ce lieu icy, ou Dieu sait combien nous y demeureronts. Je supplie donc treshumblement V. M. d'avoir soing du Roy et de moy en nous envoyant du secours, autrement nous serons du tout ruinez. Il n'y a que V. M. apres Dieu, de qui nous attendons ayde. Je la remercie treshumblement de la favorable declaration qu'il luy a

pleu faire pour la conservation du Palatinat. Je la supplie treshumblement de faire le mesme pour nous icy, et nous envoyer un bon secours pour nous defendre contre nous ennemis, autrement je ne say que nous deviendrons. Je la supplie donc encore d'avoir pitie de nous, et de n'abandoner le Roy a cest heur qu'il en a si grand besoign ; pour moy, je suis resolvé de ne le quitter, car si il perit je periroy aussi avec luy ; mais, quoyqu'il m'arrive, Je ne seray jamais autre que, Sire, de V. M. la treshumble et tresobeissante fille et servante,

Bresla, "ELIZABETH."
ce $\frac{23}{13}$ Novembre.

Nor was Frederic's attachment to her less constant or ardent. "Croyez, mon cher cœur," says he in a letter of later date, "que je me souhaite bien aprés de vous. Je vous ai déjà mandé ce que m'en retient ; plut a Dieu qu'eussions un petit coin au monde pour y vivre contents ensemble—ce tout le bonheur que je me souhaite."

The affectionate tenderness of her nature was blended with a magnanimity which misfortune could not impair, and a dignified purity of morals, and sense of female honour, which awed into due respect her numerous admirers ; for she was actually beloved by many, even to adoration. The fierce and haughty Christian, Duke of Brunswick, her husband's most warlike ally, constantly wore her glove on his helmet ; the celebrated General, Count Thurn, was proud to acknowledge the influence of her charms ; and Lord Craven, who was a volunteer in Frederic's service, and of whom more will presently be said, was devoted to her, and continued her slave even to the end of her life. She was universally called in the army "the Queen of Hearts," and the soldiers were used to say that they fought as much for her as for the justice of her husband's cause. The complete overthrow of fortune which she had suffered, for Frederic was deprived by the battle of Prague not only of his kingdom but of his electorate,

scarcely drew from her an expression of regret, and his affection for her inspired him with the same passive heroism, for it did not belong to his nature. The anonymous writer of a letter in the Landsdowne MSS. speaking of them, after some detail of the battle, says—" Both of them, the Queen especially, do make all comers to be witnesses of their singular moderation, patience, devotion, and confidence in God; and this I would have you believe; that the world in many ages did hardly ever see such a pair of that rank; and surely this tribulation shall do them good."

They were presently driven from Breslau, and having wandered for some time in Silesia, removed into Brandenburgh, and at length settled in Holland, where they were supported more by the beneficence of the House of Nassau, and by the occasional contributions of several persons of rank in England, particularly Archbishop Abbot, than from the purse of her father. James contented himself by redoubling his embassies, and by indulging in idle reveries of compassing their restoration to the Palatinate through the interest with the House of Austria which he expected to found on the projected marriage of his son with the Infanta of Spain. This weakness involved his daughter in the contempt which was properly due only to himself. Her misfortunes became in some measure the subject of vulgar satire. " She was represented in a print at Antwerp," says Wilson, in his Life of James, " as a poor Irish mantler, with her hair hanging about her ears, and her child at her back, and the King, her father, carrying the cradle after her." The accession of her brother to the crown of England brought with it some public promise of succour, and some actual exertion. Charles declared to his first Parliament on its meeting, that it was his intention to make the recovery of the Palatinate the primary object of his political consideration; little however was done till the King of Sweden, then at war with the Emperor, in 1632 proffered his best endeavours to that end, but on such hard conditions that Charles, in anger, broke up

the treaty in which they had been proposed, and recalled his ambassador from Stockholm. The unhappy Frederic, however, willing to cherish even the faintest hope, negotiated separately with Gustavus, when death cut short the views of both the parties: the heroic Swede fell at the battle of Lutzen on the sixth of November, in that year, and Frederic died at Mentz on the twenty-ninth of the same month, of an infectious fever which he had contracted at Frankfort.

Elizabeth remained at the Hague, living in the utmost privacy, her chief employment the education of her children, and her only relaxations of which we hear, an extended correspondence with men celebrated for powers of mind, and for various literary and scientific attainments, occasionally relieved by the amusements of hunting and shooting, in which she much delighted. The management of her domestic affairs, and indeed of all matters in which her interests or her comforts were concerned, she committed to Lord Craven, who had entered the military service of the States of Holland that he might be near to her. The most perfect friendship and confidence, and the most open and unreserved intimacy subsisted between them, yet such was the public opinion, or rather feeling, excited by that harmony of general correctness which had always distinguished her, that not a breath of slander ever fell on their connexion. It was at length believed, and probably most justly, that they had been privately married. She professed the protestant persuasion without ostentation, but practised it with unalterable firmness of resolution. Her brother, Charles, at a moment when her affairs were in a state of the deepest depression, dispatched Sir Henry Vane to represent to her the prudence of sending her eldest son to Vienna, to be bred a catholic, in the view of matching him to a Princess of the House of Austria, but she answered that, rather than take a step at once so mean and so wicked, she would put him to death with her own hands. A bitter and reciprocal dislike subsisted between Elizabeth and the eccentric Christina of Sweden. This is said

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

to have arisen out of a mutual jealousy on their respective intimacies with eminent men of letters, but the following epistle from Elizabeth to Sir Edward Nicholas will at least shew that she had other causes of aversion. It is not perhaps so much for the sake of elucidating that point as to give a specimen of the liveliness of her mind and style that I here insert it.

"Mr. Secretarie, Haghe, Dec. 3, 1654.

"I received your's at Berghen, whither I was come from Antwerp and Bruxells. I find you have unriddled my riddle verie right. I saw the Queene of Sweden at the play. She is extravagant in her fashion and aparell, but she has a good well-favoured face, and a milde countenance. One of the players that knew me tolde her who I was, but she made no shew of it. I went the next day to Bruxells, where I saw the Arch-Duc at Mass, and I saw his pictures and lodgins. I lay at Sr. Harry de Vic's, who was verie carefull and diligent to do me all the service he coulde. I staid but Sunday at Bruxells, and returned to Antwerp upon Monday, and hearing from Duart how the Queene of Sweden had desired to know when I came back thither, that she might meet with me in an indifferent place, I made the more hast away the next day, because I had no mind to speak with her, since I heard how unhandsomelie she had spoken of the King, my dear brother, and the King, my dear nephue, and indeed of all our nation; so I avoided it, and went away as soon as I had dined; yet she sent Donoy to me with a very civill message, that she was sorie she could not use that civilitie to me as she both should doe and desired, hoping that one day we might meet together with more freedome. I answered her as civillie as I coulde, and now, when I went from Berghen, I gave Sr. Will. Swann charge to make her a complement from me.

"I came hither upon Tewsday from Berghen, where I was extremelie well intertained by the Princes of Zollern, who was with me, and was my guide all the jorney, and defrayed me.

Her daughter is now so prettie everie way that you would like her yett better than ever you did if you saw her. She is much growen, and is still of a verie sweet disposition, and she doth become her. She has a great deal of witt, and loves our nation extreamlie. It makes me think of your wish, which I am not against, you know. By this post I have had verie good news of the Duke of Glocester's constantie in his religion, and of mẏ Lo. of Ormond's handsome carriage in that business, so as the Queen saith she will press him no further in it; but I hope the King will not trust to it, but get him away from thence, which will doe the King great right. It is so colde as I can say no more, but am ever

"Your most affectionat friend."

She was unfortunate in her heir, Charles Lewis, to whom the Lower Palatinate was restored in 1648, on condition of his renouncing his title to the Upper. He appears to have been mean, selfish, and unfeeling. He came to England at the age of eighteen, and was received with kindness and flattering distinctions, but in the beginning of the rebellion left the King at York, and went to Holland; returned in the following year; and, while his younger brothers, Rupert and Maurice, were fighting bravely in the cause of their royal uncle, went over to the Parliament, and actually condescended to sit in what was called the assembly of divines at Westminster. It has been supposed that this strange conduct was the result of a secret agreement between the King and himself: a conjecture altogether incredible. He treated his mother with unkindness, and even denied her trifling pecuniary aids towards the maintenance of her little œconomical household, when he had been for some years competent to relieve her. She thus expostulates with him in a letter published in Bromley's collection, which contains also another, of the same tenor, written some years after

"Son,

"I send this by the post to let you know that the States have given me for my kitchen one thousand guilders a month till I shall be able to go from hence, which God knows how and when that will be for my debts; wherefore I earnestly entreat you to do so much for me as to augment that money which you give me, and then I shall make a shift to live a little something reasonable; and you did always promise me that as your country bettered you would increase my means till you were able to give me my jointure. I do not ask you much. If you would add but what you did hint you would do me a great kindness by it, and make me see you have still an affection for me, and put me in a confidence of it. Since you cannot yet pay me all that is my due, that will shew to the world you desire it if you could. I pray do this for me. You will much comfort me by it, who am in so ill a condition that it takes all my contentment from me. I am making my house as little as I can, that I may subsist by the little I have till I shall be able to come to you, which (since I cannot do because of my debts, which I am not able to pay, neither the new nor the old) if you do not as I desire you, I am sure I shall not increase. As you love me, I do conjure you to give me an answer, and by the time commonly, and you will tie me to continue, as I am most truly,

"Yours, &c."

Haghe, $\frac{13}{23}$ August, 1655.

She remained however under these forlorn circumstances till the restoration of her nephew, Charles the second, who invited her to pass the remainder of her life in England, a proposal which she most readily accepted. She arrived in London on the seventeenth of May, 1661, with Lord Craven, and took up her residence in his house in Drury Lane, where she remained till the following February, on the eighth of which month, as we learn from Mr. Evelyn's Diary, she removed to Leicester House, and died there

on the thirteenth, only five days after she had entered it. She was buried in Westminster Abbey, in a vault made for the interment of her brother, Henry, Prince of Wales.

The issue of the Queen of Bohemia was eight sons, and five daughters. 1, Frederic Henry, who was drowned, or rather frozen to death, in his fifteenth year, at Haërlem, on the seventh of January, 1629, in the sight of his unfortunate father; 2, Charles Lewis, who has been lately mentioned; 3, Rupert; 4, Maurice; both of whom hold places of some distinction in English history; 5, Lewis, who died an infant; 6, Edward; 7, Philip, who fell in battle in Germany, at the age of twenty-three; 8, Gustavus, who also died in infancy. Her daughters were, 1, Elizabeth, Abbess of Hervorden, in Westphalia, one of the wisest and most learned women of the age in which she lived, to whom Descartes dedicated his "Principia," and declared that she was the only person he knew who perfectly comprehended his works, and with whom William Penn frequently conferred on the system of his new colony, and on the principles and doctrine of his sect; 2, Louisa Hollandina, Abbess of Maubuisson, in France, highly celebrated for her skill in the fine arts, especially painting, many proofs of which are preserved, and highly esteemed, in the continental cabinets; 3, Henrietta Mary, married to Sigismond Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania; 4, Charlotte, who died an infant; and, 5, Sophia, a Princess distinguished by every virtue, and every accomplishment, who became the consort of Ernest, Elector of Hanover, and carried the inheritance of the Crown of these realms into his illustrious House, in which may it please the Almighty to the end of time to maintain it in all happiness and glory.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

WILLIAM KERR, EARL OF LOTHIAN.

OB. 1675.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JAMIESON, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London. Sept.r 1, 1825.

WILLIAM KERR,

THIRD EARL OF LOTHIAN.

Sir Robert Kerr, created Earl of Ancram in 1633, whose incomparable loyalty, and whose elegant literary taste, rendered him a conspicuous ornament to his country at a period when it unhappily possessed little of either, married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Murray, of Blackbarony; and, secondly, Anne, daughter of William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, and widow of Sir Henry Portman, of Orchard in Somersetshire. His sole issue by the first of those ladies was William, the subject of this memoir. By the other he had several children; and his Earldom, which had been settled first on the fruit of his second marriage, devolved accordingly at his death on Charles, the only son, whose line failing in the next generation, it reverted to this nobleman, whose lineal descendant, the present Marquis of Lothian, now enjoys it. William, though third Earl of Lothian of his family, did not inherit that dignity. He had married Anne Kerr, Countess of Lothian in her own right, daughter and heir to the second Earl, a lady of his own blood, but most distant kindred, and the honour was therefore conferred on him by a new patent, on the 31st of July, 1631. I state these facts thus particularly because they are involved in some degree of intricacy, and have been more than once misrepresented.

This Earl, the chief care of whose parents had been to fix in his mind, even from his cradle, an attachment to monarchical government, and an affectionate veneration towards the person of the reigning king, became, by a strange perverseness, perhaps the most sincere and bitter enemy among his countrymen to both. In this double rebellion, however, at once against his

father and his prince, he had the merit at least of consistency, for his fidelity to the cause which he had espoused was invariable, and even unsuspected, and his motives wholly disinterested; and hence, rather than from his talents, which were not of the highest class, he possessed the entire confidence of his party. He appeared in 1638 among the most vehement of the covenanters, and was in the following year nominated, with thirteen others, to manage the deceitful and vexatious treaty then offered by them to Charles at Berwick. In 1640 he had a command in the Scottish army which invaded England: was present at the siege of Newcastle on Tyne, which was the only exploit worth naming in the expedition; and on the reduction of that town was appointed governor of it by the party which then ruled Scotland. He was soon after named one of the four commissioners of the Scottish Treasury, and in 1641 was placed at the head of a deputation of trusty covenanters, who were sent to London to offer to the Parliament a Scottish army to serve against the Irish rebels, and to procure from that assembly an engagement to maintain such troops as might be raised for that purpose. This agreement, which had indeed been previously made, and which had deeper views than the proposed expedition, was presently confirmed. The army was levied, and Lothian, to whom the command of a regiment was given, sailed with it to Ireland, where he seems to have done nothing worth recording.

He was dispatched in 1643 to Paris, under the pretence of adjusting some differences relative to the privileges of his countrymen in their commerce with France, but in fact for the purpose of weakening the interest and distracting the measures of Charles in that court. On his return he landed at an English port, and went to Oxford to wait on the King, who, having been apprised of his dealings in France, caused him to be arrested, and he was committed, under an accusation of high treason, to the castle of Bristol, where he remained for several months a close prisoner. Released from thence, in compliance with a

petition specially for that purpose from the self-appointed government at Edinburgh to the King, he returned into Scotland, and immediately accepted from the same persons a commission, directed to the Marquis of Argyll and himself, for the raising an army to oppose to those brave and generous efforts for the royal cause by which the gallant Montrose was then exciting the admiration even of his enemies. They mustered their friends and dependents, and were presently in the field at the head of a powerful force, but their campaign was short and inglorious. Lothian, who commanded fifteen hundred horse, appears to have been but once engaged, and on that occasion fled ignominiously. It occurred in a skirmish under the walls of Faivy Castle, near Strathbogie, and is thus spoken of by George Wiseheart, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, the faithful biographer of Montrose:—"His," (Montrose's) "horse, which were but fifty, being disposed in a place of danger, he timely secured them by lining them with musqueteers; for Lothian charged them with five whole troops, who, before they had crossed over half a field that lay between them, being scared with our shot, wheeled about and returned to the place from whence they came." Argyll soon after abandoned his command, and shut himself up, with a garrison for his own defence, in his castle of Inverary; and Lothian, as we hear no more of him in the field, probably followed the same course.

In the autumn of 1646 he was placed at the head of a commission, under the authority and direction of which himself and some others waited on the King, then in the hands of the Scottish army, to exhort him to accede to the last bitter propositions offered to him by the rebel Parliament in England, which, as is well known, Charles positively and magnanimously refused. The surrender of that Prince's person by the traitors who then governed Scotland speedily followed. Lothian, who had been a willing party to that infamous measure, and had protested in Parliament against a late feeble effort of doubtful loyalty, which

is known in the Scottish history by the name of "the Duke of Hamilton's Engagement," was now appointed Secretary of State, in the room of that nobleman's brother, the Earl of Lanerick (Lanark), who soon after fled to Holland. In the mean time the close of Charles's miseries approached. A treaty however still subsisted between him and his House of Commons, whose authority, now little less shorn than his own, the leaders of the covenant faction had resolved to support to their utmost; nor were they less anxious to deceive the world into a milder opinion of their late treachery towards the King by some public expression of their horror and resentment of the extremities to which he was reduced by the new military usurpation. With these views, as Lord Clarendon informs us, "the Earl of Lothian, and two others who were known to be most zealous for the covenant, and most enraged and incensed against the proceedings of the army, were made choice of, and presently sent away that they might make all possible haste to Westminster, and were, immediately upon their arrival, to demand permission to wait upon the King, wherever he should be, and to receive from him such further directions as he should judge necessary for his service." They had scarcely arrived in London when Cromwell marched his army thither; dispersed in a moment the frantic and iniquitous assembly, which had for some years usurped the name and authority of a Parliament; and erected his "High Court of Justice" for the Condemnation of the King.

The trouble of Lothian's commission was considerably narrowed by these events. He had been directed to flatter this nominal Parliament; to amuse the unhappy Charles with new deceptions: and to enter a cold dissent, should circumstances render it necessary, from any resolution of violence towards the royal person. A large abstract of his instructions, displaying a turpitude of various treachery inconsistent even with the fraud and apathy of the vilest diplomatic negotiations recorded in history, has been preserved by Lord Clarendon.

Nothing, however, now remained to be done but to make the protestation against the sacrifice of the King, which was not presented till he had been twice dragged before the tribunal by which he was to be judged, and was couched in terms which scarcely maintained even the affectation of sincerity. The remnant of a legislature which Cromwell had permitted to subsist, partly understood the spirit which had dictated this profession, and, having first murdered the King, returned to Lothian such an answer as they thought would be agreeable to the persons by whom he had been sent, as well as to himself, who, as Lord Clarendon informs us, "had upon all occasions carried the rebellion highest, and shewed the most implacable malice to the person of the King."

But, however welcome the treason, some points in the reply of the traitors were little relished by Lothian and his brethren. They were told plainly that the government of England was to be strictly republican, and, almost as plainly, that it was intended to compel Scotland to adopt the same system. The constitution of Scotland, a monarchy with few limitations, had remained untouched; and the covenanters, far from aiming at the destruction of the regal character, looked forward with hope to the authority of the young King, as an instrument which they might easily bend to the accomplishment of all their purposes. The commissioners therefore rejoined, in a tone which gave much offence, and their English friends having neither time nor inclination to expostulate further with them, and foreseeing some probable inconvenience from the liberty of persons of such condition disposed to argue for royalty, shut them up without ceremony, nor were they released till the arrival of a remonstrance from Scotland, when they were sent to Gravesend strictly guarded, and embarked there for their own country. Of Lothian we have no further intelligence after this period, than that he was dispatched to Breda by the Parliament in the beginning of the succeeding year, 1650, together with the Earl of Cassilis and

others, to invite Charles the second to Scotland, on the hard conditions so frequently rejected by his royal father, as they now were by himself.

William, third Earl of Lothian, survived till 1675. He had issue by his Countess, who has been mentioned above, five sons; Robert, the eldest, who succeeded to the dignities, and was in 1701 created Marquis of Lothian; Sir William; Charles, ancestor of the Kerrs of Abbotsrule; Harry, and John, who died young. He had also nine daughters; Anne, wife of Alexander Fraser, Master of Saltoun; Elizabeth, married to John Lord Borthwick; Jane and Margaret, who died young; Mary, wife of James Brodie, of Brodie; Margaret, married to James Richardson, of Smeaton; Vere, to Lord Neil Campbell, second son of Archibald Marquis of Argyll; Henrietta, to Sir Francis Scott, of Thirlestane; and Lilias, who died unmarried.

Engraved by T. A. Dean.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

OB. 1676.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL SPENCER.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Sept.r 1, 1825.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH,

FIRST DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

This brave, accomplished, and magnificent nobleman was the eldest son and heir of Sir Charles Cavendish, next and younger brother to the first Earl of Devonshire of the family, by Catharine, second of the two daughters and coheirs of Cuthbert, last Lord Ogle of his surname. He was born in the year 1592, and is said to have received under his paternal roof an education which, though by no means deficient in the ordinary scholastic studies, was peculiarly calculated to inspire him with a taste for polite literature, and to ground him in that long variety of nameless elegancies of mind and carriage which adorn courts, and grace private society. Thus qualified, he was presented to James the first, and at the age of eighteen was one of the Knights of the Bath appointed on the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales. He now became one of the most familiar attendants on the royal family, but a generous indifference, or a love of independence, kept him disengaged from any of those offices of specific employment which the degree of royal favour that he enjoyed might have insured to him. In 1617 he succeeded, on the death of his father, to the possession of a noble estate, and on the third of November, 1620, was raised to the Peerage by the titles of Lord Ogle, and Viscount Mansfield, the former of which might be considered as a mere anticipation, since he stood at that time in a certainty of the inheritance of the ancient Barony, to which he afterwards succeeded.

Charles the first, who regarded him with a real friendship advanced him in 1627 to the Earldom of Newcastle on Tyne. In

spite of his carelessness of all the usual objects of courtly intrigue, he was now in some measure forced into the vortex of party. He excited the jealousy of Buckingham, and gained the friendship of Wentworth, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Strafford, to whom, as we find in the fine publication of that nobleman's letters, he used to unbosom himself with perfect freedom and confidence. The King, who, while he loved the one from mere habit, esteemed the other for his great talents, resolved to maintain Cavendish against the attacks of his favourite, and in 1638, most probably with Wentworth's advice, placed him in the important office of Governor to the Prince of Wales. For this exalted trust he possessed many proper qualifications: a lively and highly cultivated understanding, the strictest honour, an exact morality in his private conduct, the most refined politeness, and an œconomy so princely that the most unbounded profuseness on some particular occasions seemed not to interrupt its consistency. Such was his superb reception of the King and Court at his house of Welbeck, when Charles was on his way to his coronation in Scotland, which cost between four and five thousand pounds, and which, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "might have been thought very prodigious, had not the same noble person, within a year or two afterwards, made the King and Queen a more stupendous entertainment." This was at Bolsover Castle, at the expence, as his lady, who published some account of his life, informs us, of nearly fifteen thousand pounds.

The unhappily altered character however of the times soon after called on him for services and sacrifices of another order, and he performed them as nobly. When Charles, in the spring of 1639, levied an army in the northern counties with the view of awing the Scottish covenanters into obedience, the Earl assisted his pressing necessity for money by a free gift of ten thousand pounds, raising at the same time a body of horse, consisting of two hundred gentlemen whose esteem for him induced them to serve, wholly at their own expence, under his command, and with

the denomination of "the Prince's Troop." It is well known that all the measures taken for this expedition, which the King commanded in person, and in which not a single blow was stricken, were rendered abortive by a most ill-judged treaty of pacification. Newcastle's concern in it was therefore marked by no event but a quarrel, on a point of military ceremony, with the Earl of Holland, whom he challenged, and who disgraced himself by avoiding the meeting. Soon after his return, doubtless on a secret arrangement between the King and himself, he resigned his office of Governor to the Prince, his possession of which had excited much jealousy in the disaffected party, and retired to his estates, which lay almost wholly in that part of the country in which Charles meditated to use his services.

The King had foreseen the unhappy certainty of a civil war, and had determined to prepare for it amidst the loyalty of his northern subjects. He had therefore, on his way to London, deposited in the town of Hull all the arms and ammunition provided for the army which he had uselessly led into Scotland. He determined to intrust this important charge to the Earl, and dispatched to him, early in the year 1641, a commission for the government of that place, not to be used till the arrival of his Majesty's further orders, directing him however to visit the town in his private character, that he might inform himself of the state of things there, and of the disposition of the neighbouring country. He went, but Charles's intention having been betrayed to his enemies, he had not been three days in Hull when he was summoned by the Peers to attend his duty in their House, which he did, not in compliance with their order, but by the King's command, and the Parliament committed its first open attack on the royal prerogative by appointing a governor. In the beginning of the following year he met the King at York, and soon after took possession, with troops raised by himself, of Newcastle on Tyne, the King privately investing him at the same time with the command of the four northernmost counties.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH,

On the twenty-fourth of August Charles set up his standard at Nottingham, and one of the first subsequent acts of the rebel Parliament was to declare, by name, Newcastle, and ten other eminent persons, excepted from any pardon, while the King, on his part, appointed him General of all forces to be levied in the counties north of Trent, and in those of Leicester, Cambridge, Rutland, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; authorizing him by his commission to confer knighthood, to coin money, and to publish such declarations as he might think proper. He presently found himself at the head of eight thousand men, with whom, having routed on his way a strong party of the enemy at a place called Pierce Bridge, he marched, in the beginning of December, to York, and, leaving a good garrison there, to Tadcaster, where the rebels were posted in considerable force, and with great advantage of ground. He had formed a plan for capturing the garrison, which is said to have failed through the unskilfulness of the officers to whom he intrusted the execution, but he succeeded in clearing that part of the county of the enemy, and, having now, more by his personal influence than by his operations in the field, made the King master of the whole of the country north of that point, applied himself vigorously to the augmentation of his forces and supplies, and, to provide against the probable errors of his own military inexperience, called to his aid General King, an old Scottish soldier of high reputation, whom he made Lieutenant-General of his army, and, to attach him the more effectually to the royal cause, prevailed on the King to advance him to the Peerage of his own country by the title of Lord Ethyn. The advantage thus gained was perhaps counterbalanced by the appointment of the wild and dissolute Goring to the command of the Horse, to which the Earl was compelled by the earnest solicitations of the Queen.

He had indeed obligations to that lady which, though chiefly of a public nature, he felt with the gratitude which is inseparable from a generous mind. She had employed herself ever since her

retirement to Holland in the beginning of the year 1641 in aiding that branch of the King's service to which he had peculiarly devoted himself; had sent him from time to time large sums of money, and supplies of arms and ammunition; had induced the Prince of Orange to furnish him with many of his best officers; and corresponded with him constantly with the confidence and familiarity of a private friend. This intercourse had not escaped the notice of the rebels, and it became a fashion among them to distinguish Newcastle's force by the appellations of "the Queen's army," and "the Catholic army." The prosperity of the King's affairs in the north encouraged her Majesty to return, at least to that part of the kingdom, in March 1643, and the Earl marched to Burlington, where she had landed, to protect her on her journey to York, signally vanquishing on his journey a large body of the enemy which had been posted to intercept an important convoy of ammunition on it's way from Newcastle on Tyne to that city. While he was performing these duties, a detachment from his army, under the command of Goring, beat the troops of Fairfax, whom the Parliament had appointed to command in the north, and took eight hundred prisoners; and, following up that advantage, presently after gained another victory in the neighbourhood of Tankersley. The Earl, in April, took Rotherham by storm, and reduced Sheffield, and in the following month detached an escort of seven thousand cavalry and infantry to attend the Queen to Oxford, where Charles retained them. Notwithstanding this diminution of his force, and a more serious disadvantage which he suffered at the same moment at Wakefield, where Goring and his party were surprised and made prisoners, he gained, on the thirtieth of June, a complete victory over Fairfax's more numerous army at Adderton Heath, near Bradford, in which seven hundred of the rebels fell, three thousand were captured, and the town fell into his hands. He now made an excursion into Lincolnshire, where he took the city, and also the town of Gainsborough, while his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, very gallantly

carried Grantham, which the rebels had lately garrisoned, by assault; the Earl however returned within a few weeks into Yorkshire, where, on the twenty-eighth of August, Beverley surrendered to him, and he determined to lay seige to Hull, the only important post which remained to the Parliament in that part of the kingdom. Charles now rewarded his eminent services by a grant of the title of Marquis of Newcastle.

Amidst these successes however the termination of his military career was rapidly approaching. It was suddenly ascertained that the Scots, on whose recent professions of loyalty the King had with specious probability relied, were preparing to invade England, and Newcastle, whom circumstances had already compelled to abandon his design on Hull, and to retire to York, sent a strong body of horse to the borders, to observe their motions, and, on receiving the news that they had commenced their march, led the most part of his forces into the Bishoprick of Durham, in January 1644, to await their arrival. Fairfax, taking advantage promptly of his absence, and aided by speedy reinforcements from the counties behind him, commenced the siege of Newark with determined vigour, and attacking at the same time at Selby Colonel Belasyse, a son of Lord Fauconberg, to whom the Marquis had left the command of his remaining troops, and of the city of York, completely defeated him, and took him prisoner, together with most of his officers. Newcastle instantly returned, and threw himself, with his infantry, into York, rather with an earnest inclination than with any reasonable hope that he might be able to retain it, while the Scots, to whose march all interruption had been thus removed, now joined Fairfax, and the city was presently closely invested by the joint armies, to which was soon after added the force commanded by the Earl of Manchester, which on this occasion was led by Cromwell.

The Marquis was soon reduced to the most pressing necessities, and importuned the King for relief, but it came not till the end of June, when Prince Rupert arrived unexpectedly by the

rebels, and with a very inferior force compelled them to raise the siege in great disorder. Flushed by this success, and scarcely using the courtesy even to consult with Newcastle, who had before his coming agreed to relinquish the chief command to him, the Prince resolved to attack them in the field, joined the garrison of York to the main body of the army, and the fatal battle of Marston Moor ensued, on the second of July, in which, though the Scots were in the outset entirely routed, and their General, Lesley, captured, Fairfax and Cromwell, with the rebel horse, at length totally turned the fortune of the day, and gained a complete victory. Rupert immediately left that part of the country, taking with him Newcastle's cavalry, the infantry having been almost to a man killed, and the Marquis, having witnessed not only the annihilation of that army which had been raised by his own influence and enormous expenditure, but also the ruin of his master's affairs in the north, made the best of his way to Scarborough, with Ethyn, and some other of his officers, and embarked for Hamburgh.

The flight of the Marquis, who had been thus wholly blameless for the calamity of the day, was variously accounted for and censured. Lord Clarendon, who might be reasonably supposed to have competent means of judging of his motives, says—"all that can be said for him is that he was so utterly tired with a condition and employment so contrary to his humour, nature, and education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it; and it was a greater wonder that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long than that he broke from it with so little circumspection." He had however long before conceived some disgust unknown to the noble historian, and perhaps to all others but Charles and himself, and seems but to have taken this opportunity of executing, without loss of honour, a resolution previously formed. We find in the Harleian collection the following effusion of friendly and angry

feelings, written wholly by the King's own hand, full three months before the battle of Marston Moor.

"Newcastell,

By your last dispach I perceave that the Scots are not the only, or it may be said the least, ennemies you contest withall at this tyme; wherfor I must tell you in a word, for I have not tyme to make longe discourses, you must as much contem the impertinent or malitius tonges and pennes of those that ar, or professe to be, your frends as well as you despise the sword of an equall ennemie. The trewth is if eather you or my L. Ethin leave my service, I am sure at least all the Northe (I speake not all I think) is lost. Remember all courage is not in fyghting; constancy in a good cause being the cheefe, and the despysing of slanderus tonges and pennes being not the least, ingredient. I'l say no more, but let nothing disharten you from doing that w[ch] is most for your owne honnor, and the good of (the thought of leaving your charge being against bothe) your most assured, reall, constant frend.

CHARLES R."

Oxford, 5 *Ap*. 1644.

After sojourning for considerable periods at Hamburgh, Amsterdam, and Paris, he settled finally at Antwerp, where he resided for many years on means so scanty that, as his lady informs us, they were frequently obliged to pawn even their clothes to enable them to obtain common necessaries. The rebels in the mean time received his rents, felled his timber, and at length, in 1652, sold the whole of his estates, which, at little more than five years' purchase, produced one hundred and twelve thousand pounds. His loss thus sustained, together with the enormous sums which from time to time he had nobly devoted to the King's service, are credibly affirmed to have exceeded seven hundred thousand pounds. He beguiled the inconvenience and the weariness of his tedious exile by applying himself to literary composition of the

most sprightly order, in the society, and perhaps with the occasional aid, of his Countess, the most voluminous writer of her sex, and their mutual affection, which was exemplary, enhanced a congeniality of sentiment that they had severally received from nature. These elegant and retired studies, his adoption of which in truth denoted the greatness of his spirit, a late noble person has endeavoured to ridicule, in his Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, with less taste and justice than are commonly to be found in his censures, and with more than his usual spleen. "One does not know," says his Lordship, among other passages meant to be yet more severe, "whether to admire the philosophy or smile at the triflingness of this Peer, who, after sacrificing such a fortune for his master, and during such calamities of his country, could accommodate his mind to the utmost idleness of literature,"—a province so cherished and cultivated by the noble critic himself, that, as it should seem, he could not with common patience think even of the ghost of a departed possessor. The Marquis, it is true, could not claim all the higher attributes of a dramatic author, but it must be admitted that he was a close observer, and a faithful delineator, of the characters and manners of ordinary society, and even a master in the art of investing them with that dry humour which never fails to render comedy at least popular. He wrote four plays; the Country Captain; Variety; the Humorous Lovers; and the Triumphant Widow; but the work with which the recollection of his name is most frequently associated, because the subject is of almost universal interest, is a large treatise on the art of training and managing horses, in which he excelled. This has been repeatedly, and generally splendidly, published, as well in French as in English.

To return to the few circumstances which remain to be told of his public life—he continued abroad till the restoration, frequently visiting the little court of his exiled master, from whom he received in 1652 the Order of the Garter, and to whom he addressed soon after that period "a Treatise on the Government and the Interests

of Great Britain with respect to the other Powers of Europe," which seems to have remained unpublished. He returned with that Prince, after an absence of eighteen years, and persevering in the dignified contempt of office which had marked his early manhood, would accept of none but that of Chief Justice in Eyre north of Trent. On the sixteenth of March, 1664, he was elevated to the dignities of Earl of Ogle, and Duke of Newcastle. He passed the concluding years of his life chiefly in the country, where he found ample employment in the reparation of the cruel injuries to which his estates and mansions had been subjected, and abundant amusement for his leisure in the exercise of his pen; and, dying on the twenty-fifth of December, 1676, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a superb monument covers his remains. He was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Bassett, of Blore, in Staffordshire, and widow of Henry, third son of Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk of the Howards, by whom he had three sons, and three daughters; William, who died an infant; Charles, whom he also survived; and Henry, who succeeded to his dignities, and in whom they became extinct. His daughters were Jane, wife of Charles Cheney, of Chesham Boys, in Bucks: Elizabeth, married to John Egerton, second Earl of Bridgewater; and Frances, to Oliver St. John, Earl of Bolingbroke. He married secondly, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lucas of Colchester, the lady frequently mentioned in the preceding pages, and of whom more may be found in another part of this work. She died childless.

Lord Clarendon, to whose gravity it would perhaps have been difficult to reconcile, the whole of this nobleman's character, informs us that "he was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding, in which his delight was. Besides that, he was amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time;

and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune but honour, and ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and the security of the crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both, without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace. He had a particular reverence for the person of the King, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the Prince as he had had the honour to be trusted with his education, as his governor, for which office as he excelled in some, so he wanted other qualifications. He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a General, and preserved the dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward state and circumstances of it in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded; but the substantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree understand, being utterly unacquainted with war, nor could submit to, but referred all matters of that nature to the discretion of his Lieutenant-General, King. In all actions of the field he was still present, and never absent in any battle, in all which he gave instances of an invincible courage and fearlessness in danger, in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the day when his troops begun to give ground. Such actions were no sooner over than he retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon any occasion whatsoever, insomuch as he sometimes denied admittance to the chiefest officers of the army, even to General King himself, for two days together, from which many inconveniences fell out."

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SAR

Engraved by R. Cooper.

WILLIAM, FIRST EARL OF CRAVEN.

OB. 1697.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HONTHORST, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON[BLE] THE EARL OF CRAVEN.

Published by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East, April 1, 1826.

WILLIAM, FIRST EARL OF CRAVEN.

From a Yorkshire family, seated at Appletrewick, in Craven, from which district doubtless it derived its surname, sprung Sir William Craven, a younger son, who became a merchant and alderman of London, acquired great wealth, and served the offices of Sheriff, and Lord Mayor. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of William Whitmore, of that city, and he had by her three sons, and two daughters, both of whom were married to powerful Peers. Of the sons, William, the subject of this memoir, was the eldest; John, the second, was created by King Charles the first, in 1643, Lord Craven, of Ryton in Shropshire, and left no issue; and Thomas, the youngest, died unmarried. William therefore not only inherited his father's extensive possessions, but became at length heir to those of his brothers.

He was born early in the year 1606, and even from his childhood manifested a strong passion for a military life, which he was permitted to gratify before he came of age in active service in Germany, and in the Netherlands under Henry Prince of Orange, where, in addition to the most determined bravery, he is said to have displayed all those qualities of mind that are esteemed essential in the character of a commander. He returned in the spring of 1627, on the fourth of March, in which year he was knighted, and on the twelfth of the same month raised to the rank of a baron, by the title of Lord Craven, of Hamsted Marshall, in Berks. Having passed more than three years in courtly and rural occupations not at all to his taste, a new opportunity for warfare offered itself, and he seized it with eagerness. In 1631 the King dispatched a considerable body of English troops to the aid of Gustavus Adolphus, who had attacked the Emperor of Germany in his country, and had on his part engaged

to use his best efforts to re-instate the Elector Palatine, nominal King of Bohemia, and the unfortunate brother in law to Charles, in the possession of his hereditary dominions. Whether Lord Craven embarked in this expedition with any distinct command, or in the character of a volunteer, is uncertain; his conduct however in the field raised his military reputation to the utmost, and excited the admiration even of the heroic Swede, by whom he was presently admitted not only to favour but to confidence. He marched with that Prince in February, 1632, from Bavaria into the Palatinate, where he distinguished himself by a valour almost romantic in the siege of the strong fortress of Creutznach, in the successful assault of which he first entered the breach. Gustavus, brave as he was, could not help telling him that "he gave his younger brother too many chances for his estate;" and rejoiced no less that he had escaped only with a wound in his thigh from a pike than for the fortunate result of the enterprize.

The King of Sweden fell at Lutzen almost immediately after this event, and his death was presently followed by that of the King of Bohemia. Craven now attached himself and his sword to the cause of that Prince's son, the young Elector Palatine, whose various fortunes he seems to have shared till the year 1637, when the Emperor finally crushed the hopes of that ill-fated House in a decisive action, and, the Elector having with difficulty saved himself by flight, his brother Rupert, and Lord Craven, fell into the hands of the victors. It was probably about this period that he became intimately known to Elizabeth, the mother of those royal youths, whose exquisitely amiable qualities, joined to no inconsiderable share of personal beauty, had justly obtained for her the title of "the Queen of Hearts." He now devoted himself romantically to her. When she took refuge in Holland, where she at length settled for the remainder of her life, he followed her, and entered into the service of the House of Nassau. They became inseparable. He husbanded and aided her impoverished purse, regulated her household, and superintended all her

affairs. Reports naturally arose that they were secretly married, and there is abundant reason to believe that such was the fact. He returned no more to England till after the restoration, but stood aloof, brave and loyal as he certainly was, beholding, in a tranquil inactivity which could scarcely be ascribed to any weaker motive than that passion which frequently absorbs all others, his country for years in arms, and his King gradually declining from the throne to the scaffold.

That this forbearance on his part arose not however from disaffection or negligence was clearly proved. No man contributed more largely to the necessities of the Crown, or suffered severer penalties for his loyalty, than himself. The whole of his great revenue was devoted during the war to the King, and to his sister the Queen of Bohemia, and afterwards to the maintenance of a shadow of royalty in the little court of the exiled Charles the second. The parliament at length marked him as a victim, and an infamous person of the name of Falconer was procured to swear that the Lord Craven had promoted a petition from several persons, praying the King to employ them against the rulers in England, who were designated in that petition " barbarous and inhuman rebels." This testimony was supported, if it may be so said, by the depositions of two others, somewhat more conscientious, who would report no further than that they had seen him waiting on the King at Breda, and that Charles had intrusted to him the care of one of his natural children. On the strength of this wretched evidence the Parliament resolved on the sixteenth of March, 1650-1, that " the Lord Craven was an offender within the meaning and intention of the declaration of the twenty-fourth of August, 1649, that all persons who might adhere to, or aid and assist, Charles Stuart, son to the late King, should be deemed traitors and rebels; that the estate of the said Lord Craven should be confiscated accordingly; and that the commissioners appointed for such purposes should seize and sequester all his estates, real and personal, and receive the rents and profits to

the use of the commonwealth." The parliament however, degenerate as it was, hesitated long on the question whether this unjust sentence should be executed, but at length, after many debates and divisions, a bill for the sale of all his property was passed by a majority of three voices, on the third of August, 1653, and this act of rapine was aggravated to the utmost by the almost incredible fact that on the second of the preceding May Falconer had been convicted of perjury in giving the very testimony which had furnished a pretext for it. His estates were now allotted, for the most part, to the very men whose votes had deprived him of them.

The injuries thus sustained, and the services which he had rendered, were somewhat compensated by Charles the second, who, immediately after the restoration, advanced him to the titles of Viscount Craven of Uffington in Berks, and Earl of Craven, in Yorkshire, and about the same time called him to the Privy Council, and appointed him Lord Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex, and Custos Rotulorum of Berks. The colonelcy of the regiment of guards then, and still called "the Coldstream," was some years after bestowed on him, and he held, probably at a yet later date, the office of High Steward of the University of Cambridge, and a share in the proprietary of the province of Carolina in North America; he was also Master of the Trinity House. In 1665, having no issue, he obtained a new patent to settle his barony of Craven on Sir William Craven, of Combe Abbey, in Warwickshire, great grandson and heir male of his uncle Henry, elder brother to his father, and in right of descent from that Sir William it is now held by the nobleman to whom the rest of the titles have been of late years granted.

The Earl of Craven lived to a great age, always kindly received at Court, because he asked no favours there, and lived in an easy familiarity with men of all parties because he had attached himself to none. It is said of him that "he was one of the most accomplished gentlemen in Europe; an useful subject;

charitable ; abstemious as to himself, generous to others; familiar in his conversation, and universally beloved." It may be added perhaps that he was somewhat of a humourist. We are told that he had a singular inclination, almost a passion, for conflagrations, and that it was his custom to have a horse always ready for him to mount in the moment of his receiving the news of a house on fire. He indulged this disposition with much public benefit in the great calamity of 1666, in which he is said to have been not only to the last degree active, but eminently useful. So too had he been in the awful visitation of the preceding year, during which he remained constantly in London, advising on the best means of preventing the contagion, and even visiting the infected, to whom indeed it may be said that his care was extended even after their death, for he gave a piece of land for the burial exclusively of those who should die of the plague then or thereafter. When buildings were erected on this ground, which is the scite of Carnaby Market, a field on his estate at Paddington was given in exchange for it, which is yet, at least nominally, subject to the provision in question.

This nobleman died unmarried, at his house in Drury Lane, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, on the ninth of April, 1697, and was buried at Binley, near Coventry.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

OB. 1722.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, Published May 1, 1826, by Harding, Lepard & Co. Pall Mall East.

JOHN CHURCHILL,

FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

THE history of this eminent person was for more than fifty years after his death almost wholly confined to the splendid details of a career of military glory, not more distinguished by sagacity and bravery than by the most surprising good fortune. The curious industry however of later days has discovered facts, and disclosed secrets, which it might be almost wished had still slept silently in the obscure recesses from which they were drawn. It is the duty of the biographer to state the whole with candour, impartiality and freedom. It is at least his privilege to search for causes and motives; to argue on them, and on their results; and to declare his conclusions and opinions fearlessly and honestly. It is on these principles that he means to conduct the following memoir, as well as to found its pretentions to credit.

John, Duke of Marlborough, was the second born son, but by the death of his elder brother Winston in infancy, heir, of Sir Winston Churchill, a gentleman descended from an ancient Norman stock settled in the west of England, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Drake, of Ash, in the parish of Musbury, in Devonshire. He was born there on the twenty-fourth of June, 1650. His father, who was a zealous loyalist, and had fought gallantly, and suffered severely, for the royal cause, removed with his family to London soon after the restoration, to seek some reward. Here John is said to have been placed at St. Paul's school, where he could have remained but a short time, since it is certain that the Duke of York appointed him at a very tender age one of his pages, and procured for him soon after an ensign's commission in one of the regiments of foot guards. His sister,

Arabella, was received also into the same royal household in the character of a maid of honour to the Duchess, and appeared soon after in that of mistress to the Duke. In what degree the partiality already manifested towards him by James was increased by that circumstance may be easily conceived.

Passing over his appearance as a volunteer, for such it seems, at Tangier, which the Moors then held in continual siege, it may be said that his first military service was in 1672, when England, then leagued with France against the Dutch, sent a force of six thousand men to Holland under the Duke of Monmouth. Here, in the rank of a captain of grenadiers, he displayed, particularly in the sieges of Nimeguen and Maestricht, the most signal bravery; acquired the personal regard of the great Turenne; and received the thanks of Louis the fourteenth, together with that monarch's peculiar recommendation of him to his own sovereign. The second campaign in Holland having ended, the English regiments which were still left at the disposal of the King of France marched with the French army against the Imperialists, and Louis, in the spring of 1674, nominated Churchill colonel of one of them. During this period of foreign service the Duke of York appointed him a gentleman of his bedchamber, and master of the robes. He corresponded constantly with that prince; frequently visited England, for the sole purpose of attending to his affairs; and had insensibly acquired, together with no small share of personal regard, his entire confidence.

In 1678 he married Sarah, second daughter and coheir of Richard Jennings, of Sandridge, in Hertfordshire. This lady is mentioned thus early in the present sketch because so much of her husband's political conduct may be referred to the peculiarities of her understanding and temper that we must necessarily take her with us as an occasional guide to the truth. He now obtained a regiment of infantry, and was sent, on a temporary breach between Charles and Louis, to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the Prince of Orange against the French, which

was soon after rendered abortive by a general peace. He returned to his domestic and confidential attendance on James, whom he constantly accompanied in the various wanderings to which that prince was compelled by the rage of faction towards the conclusion of his brother's reign. He became the medium of their most secret and important correspondence, not only with each other, but with the King of France, to whom he was occasionally dispatched on missions of the utmost privacy and delicacy. These services were rewarded by a grant, in 1683, of the title of Lord Churchill of Aymouth, in Scotland, to which was added the commission of colonel of a regiment of horse guards, then newly raised. His wife, who had been selected in her childhood as the familiar companion of the Princess Anne, and was beloved by her with a tenderness even extravagant, was about the same time, when that princess's establishment was settled, on her marriage with the Prince of Denmark, appointed a lady of her bedchamber.

In the following year his royal patron mounted the throne; sent him ambassador to Paris to notify that event; and on his return elevated him to an English peerage, with the style of Baron Churchill of Sandridge. Monmouth's feeble rebellion, which immediately followed, produced new proofs of his military merit. By the rapid and judicious movements of a squadron intrusted to his command he prevented thousands from joining the standard of the Duke, whom he then forced prematurely to the general action at Sedgemoor, in which he highly distinguished himself, as he had on the preceding day by disconcerting a plan of the enemy to throw the King's army into disorder. It is strange that he should have received no higher reward for these services than the rank of major-general, and the complimentary transfer of his colonelcy to an older corps of horse guards; and yet more remarkable that he should have been placed in no distinguished office, either in the state or court, during the reign, short as it was, of a master whose partiality towards him seemed to extend almost to favouritism. James probably considered his

talents applicable merely to military service, in which no future opportunity offered of employing them; Churchill doubtless thought otherwise; and hence perhaps imbibed sentiments of disgust and anger, to which in some measure may be reasonably referred that heavy charge on his conduct to which we shall next advert.

On the landing of the Prince of Orange he was among the first who abandoned James; nor was this the half unwilling step ot one at length driven by necessity to determine which of two parties contending for a crown was the most justly entitled to his allegiance. He had been long engaged in a secret intercourse with William. Eighteen months before, a period at which James's confidence in him was at its height, he had written to the Prince to offer, in indirect terms, the meaning however of which was evident, not only his own services, but those of the Princess Anne of Denmark, under whose authority he professes to make the communication. The avowed motive, on his own part as well as on her's, was an earnest devotion to the protestant church. Of Anne's sincerity in this respect there is perhaps no reason to doubt, but that Churchill, bred a courtier and a soldier of fortune, should have been decided on the greatest of all political questions, not by any fear of interruption to his own practice of that mode of faith which he might prefer, for of that he knew there could be no danger, but by his dread that the nation might relapse into popery, is indeed somewhat difficult of belief. The simple truth, it can scarcely be doubted, however reluctantly we may believe it, is that he foresaw the ruin which overhung his soveregin, and determined not to share in the peril of its fall, but to triple his views of preferment by adding the good graces of William and Mary to those of Anne, which he already possessed in the utmost plenitude. The flight also of that Princess from her father is ascribed to the persuasions of himself and his lady, and the charge of ingratitude and treachery too justly founded on the whole, has been of late years aggravated by

reports which, as they seem too horrible to deserve credit, I will not here repeat. They may be found in the first volume of Macpherson's "Original Papers."

One of the last acts of James's royal authority in England was to raise him to the rank of lieutenant-general, and to give him the command of a brigade in the army which was hastily marched into the west to oppose the invaders; and Churchill's first act after his arrival at the royal quarters was to join the Prince of Orange, with as many of the officers of that brigade as he could persuade to accompany him. His activity in the service of his new master was remarkable. He flew to London, to secure his own troop of horse-guards, and other military that remained in that quarter; returned with the news of his success to William; and attended his triumphant entry into the metropolis. Here however he paused; and when the question was agitated in the Convention Parliament whether the throne had become vacant by the flight of the King, absented himself with all due decorum from the discussion, as though, in the simplicity of his heart, he had never till then dreamed of that Prince's expulsion, or of William's design to succeed him. That point being settled, he again became busy, and, in concert with his wife, persuaded their patroness, Anne, to relinquish her presumptive right, and content herself with the chance of obtaining the crown by outliving the Prince of Orange. Immediately on the accession of William and Mary he was sworn of the Privy Council; appointed a lord of the bed-chamber; and created Earl of Marlborough.

The new reign had scarcely commenced when the King and Queen disagreed with the Princess Anne on the amount of the revenue to be granted to her, and the usual artifices of party were exerted to effect, as in the end they did, an irreparable breach. Marlborough appeared openly at the head of those who supported the Princess's claim, and William was more displeased than his phlegmatic temper usually allowed. That disposition however enabled him to dissemble. He wanted English generals,

and had too high an opinion of Marlborough's military talents to break with him at that time. He was sent therefore to command the English forces then serving against the French in the Netherlands, where he acquitted himself with great credit in the campaign of 1689, and soon after his return, embarked for Ireland, at the head of five thousand men, and achieved, with equal bravery and discretion, the most of that which William had left undone towards the final discomfiture of James's adherents in that island after the battle of the Boyne. While these matters were passing, and during his absence in Holland, whither he attended the King in May, 1691, the discord between the royal sisters arose to the most extravagant height. It was imputed in a great measure to Marlborough and his lady; and this suspicion, aided by the resentment of the Dutch favourite, Portland, whom it was their custom to abuse and ridicule without mercy, so aggravated William's former displeasure, that on the tenth of January, 1692, he suddenly required from the Earl the surrender of all his employments, civil and military, and forbade his appearance at court. Such is the account given by the memoir-writers of that time of the motives to Marlborough's dismissal, but it has been rendered doubtful by certain late disclosures. Prodigious as it may seem, he was at that time in close and confidential correspondence with the court of St. Germains; and had professed to the exiled King the deepest penitence for the part which he had acted, and the most determined resolution (to use the words of the late publication of James's memoirs of his own latter years) "to redeem his apostacy with the hazard of his utter ruin," by using his most strenuous efforts to replace that Prince on the throne. How much more reasonable then to suppose that Marlborough's sudden disgrace arose from William's discovery of this intercourse than to ascribe it to the quarrels of women, and the malicious gossip of tea tables; nor indeed can the fact be doubted when we find that on the fifth of the following May he was arrested on a charge of high treason; that, though

the instant discovery of the infamous character of his accusers screened him from a public prosecution, yet that he was detained a prisoner in the Tower for many weeks after some other persons of quality who had been involved in the accusation were released; and that immediately on his being admitted to bail, his name was struck out of the list of the Privy Council.

He remained for the next five years unemployed, except in cultivating to his utmost the favour at once of the Princess Anne, and of her royal father. Efforts however were not wanting to replace him in the public service, though his friends seem to have entertained little hope of restoring him to William's confidence. That they were fully conscious of that Prince's knowledge of his tergiversations is evident. The Duke of Shrewsbury, then secretary of state, in a letter of the twenty-second of May, 1694, recommends him strongly to William—" He has been with me," says the Duke, " to offer his services, with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable. What I can say by way of persuasion on this subject will signify but little, since I very well remember, when your Majesty discoursed with me upon it in the spring, you were sufficiently convinced of his usefulness; but some points remained of a delicate nature, too tender for me to pretend to advise upon, and of which your Majesty is the only judge. If these could be accommodated to your Majesty's satisfaction I cannot but think he is capable of being very serviceable. It is so unquestionably his interest," adds the Duke, with a severity certainly unintended, " to be faithful, that that single argument makes me not doubt it." William, in answer to this part of Shrewsbury's letter, says—" In regard to what you wrote in your last concerning Lord Marlborough I can say no more than that I do not think it for the good of my service to intrust the command of my troops to him." It is most singular that the only observation which Marlborough's late voluminous and acute biographer makes on these letters is that " they throw no light on the causes of the King's displeasure."

On the fourth of May, 1694, in the very hour when, as we have

just now seen, he was laying at William's feet his expressions of the utmost "duty and fidelity," he wrote to James to apprize him of the sailing from Portsmouth of a force designed to destroy the French fleet in the harbour of Brest. His intercourse with that Prince and his ministers was now unremitted. At length, in the summer of 1696, the apprehension of Sir John Fenwick, a party in the plot to assassinate William which had been discovered a few months before, produced a direct charge against him. Fenwick, in the hope of saving his own life, accused Marlborough of various transactions, all tending to forward the restoration of James, and particularly of having engaged to secure to that end the army, of which Shrewsbury, who was also then impeached by Fenwick, had solicited the command for him even while the plot was approaching to maturity. Fenwick however was ruined by the plan which he had formed for his defence. The persons whom he had associated with Marlborough in these charges of treason were so numerous, and so eminent, that William durst not proceed against any. Both Houses of Parliament voted the allegations contained in the documents which Fenwick had produced to be false and scandalous, and the Peers, after hearing the exculpatory speeches of Marlborough, and some of the nobles implicated with him, declared themselves satisfied with the justification which had been offered to them. It will seem strange that the King should have chosen this moment to receive his long rejected services. William however, without a single friend among the eminent men of the country; uncertain of the sincere allegiance of any; pressed by the little party headed by Anne, to whom since the late death of his Queen he had, at least in appearance, become reconciled; named Marlborough, even before the tumult raised by the late inquiry had fully subsided, to the important appointment of governor to the young Duke of Gloucester, presumptive heir to the crown. Nor was this all: he was restored also to his seat in the Privy Council, and to his former military rank and command.

He had however acquired William's countenance without

gaining his favour. His loyalty was at least strongly suspected, and he balanced his political conduct in public with so much caution between the interests and inclinations of the King and those of the Princess of Denmark as to render himself nearly useless in Council or Parliament to either. Meanwhile he could not conceal his bias towards Anne, whom William regarded with more than the usual dislike bestowed on a successor. It was perhaps as much for the sake of detaching him from her service as with the view of employing his talents in the way which best suited them, that the King took Marlborough with him to Holland in the summer of 1701; appointed him to command the forces in the Netherlands; and invested him with the most extensive powers for the management of the various negotiations preparatory to the grand confederacy then organizing against France. He conducted these treaties through all the mazes of peculiarly jarring interests with a sagacity and address which at once conferred on him the character of a profound diplomatist, and was returning to apply those talents to domestic politics, when William, taking advantage of his absence, dismissed the Tory administration headed by Lord Godolphin, his bosom friend, and partner in his most secret jacobite intrigues. The mortification which he felt from this step was severe but transient. It was terminated four months after by the death of the King, on the eighth of March, 1702, and the accession of Anne opened to Marlborough a career of glory abroad, and of power at home, seldom paralleled in the history of any subject, in any age.

Her first care was to distinguish him. On the third day after she mounted the throne she gave him the Garter, and on the fourth appointed him Commander in Chief of her Armies, and presently after Master General of the Ordnance. The government of affairs at home was again committed to his friends, under Godolphin, who, rather from deficiency of spirit than of wisdom, appears to have been held by him in utter subservience. The warlike policy of William was adopted, and Marlborough went

in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Hague, to encourage the Allies, whom the King's death had somewhat dispirited, and indeed to propose an instant declaration of war, which speedily followed. The Prince of Denmark, building on his natural rank, and yet more on the importance derived from his matrimonial alliance with Anne, the head of the confederation, aspired to the command in chief of the great body of troops now put into motion by so many states, and Marlborough, after having with a pardonable affectation of zeal contended for a while for the Prince's pretensions, received himself the splendid appointment of Generalissimo.

It is needless to offer any apology for the slightness with which the numerous and glorious events of the succeeding war must be here traced. The successes of the first year consisted in the reduction of the important fortresses of Venlo, Ruremonde, and Stevenswaert, with their dependencies, on the Meuse, and, finally, of the city of Liege; but, above all, in the constant vigilance, the alternate boldness and caution, rest and action, promptness and delay, of the commander, each always rightly placed, through which the enemy were baffled in every feature of the campaign, without the hazard to the Allies of a single action in the field. The Queen and the nation justly appreciated his conduct, and on his return he received the dignities of Duke of Marlborough, and Marquis of Blandford, by a patent, of the fourteenth of December, 1702.

Early in the following spring he returned to the Continent, where Louis, smarting under his late disappointments, had augmented his armies; changed his commanders; and resolved to prosecute a vigorous offensive war on every side. Portugal had now joined the Allies, and Bavaria had declared for France. Marlborough began by reducing Bonn, the residence of the Elector of Cologne, and, after having been twice prevented by the obstinacy and folly of the Dutch generals from executing an important attack on Antwerp and Ostend, returned to the Meuse,

and made himself master of Huy, Limburg, and Guelder. It was now that his intimacy commenced with Prince Eugene of Savoy, a consummate imperialist general, with whom he laid the plan for the ensuing glorious campaign, and determined to penetrate into the heart of Germany, where the Emperor's affairs were on the point of ruin. He marched accordingly to the Danube with astonishing celerity, and, having defeated in a signal action at Donawerth the Bavarian forces, to which a large division of the French troops was united, and desolated the Elector's country even to the walls of his capital, crossed the river, and with great difficulty and peril effected a junction with Eugene. His victory over the main army of the enemy at Blenheim, the most splendid, with one exception, of all modern conquests, almost immediately followed. The remains of the French and Bavarian armies were now forced to take refuge within the frontiers of France, and Germany was left open to the march of the Allies from the Danube to the Rhine, which they crossed, and occupied Alsace. The surrender of the important fortresses of Landau and Trierbach concluded this memorable campaign, and the Emperor testified his gratitude to the victor by creating him a Prince of the Empire, to which dignity was annexed in the succeeding year the grant of an extensive domain.

The next was little less glorious. The remarkable enterprize in which Marlborough forced the French lines at Tirlemont was followed soon after by his victory at Ramilies, second only to the triumph of Blenheim, and by the consequent surrender of Louvaine, Brussels, Mechlin, Ghent, Bruges, and indeed the whole of Brabant. Even the strong fortresses of Antwerp, Ostend, Menin, Dendermonde, and others, fell almost without resistance. The Emperor now earnestly pressed him to accept a commission for the government of the Netherlands, thus subdued by him, which the jealousy of the Dutch obliged him to refuse. He retired for a while from these glorious labours, not to repose, but to improve by his counsel the plans, and to aid by his

influence the prosecution, of the less fortunate war in Italy and Spain.

He passed the year 1707 in negotiations for a treaty with France, or rather in avoiding the latent dangers of certain propositions for a peace insidiously offered by that power; in endeavouring to gain Charles the Twelfth of Sweden to the interests of the Allies; and in forming plans to disconcert the measures which the French were secretly taking to redeem their late losses in Brabant and Flanders. Among the features of the latter design one of the most important was the defence of Oudenarde, a strong fortress on the Schelde. The enemy, on their way towards it, had surprized Ghent and Bruges, and were threatening Brussels, when Marlborough, in an attack wholly unexpected, after one of the most rapid marches recorded in military annals, won the battle that took its name from the important post which was the object of their meditated attack. The Elector of Bavaria however still lay before Brussels with a formidable force, and the Duke, determined at all hazards to save that city, forced the passage of the river with a noble gallantry, and put to flight the French and Bavarian army which was encamped on the opposite bank. In the meantime he besieged Lille, which held out with an obstinacy of which the whole war had presented no other instance, and at length entered it in the sight of that army, which had again come down purposely to relieve it, and to which he had in vain offered battle even during the siege. This exploit was followed by the surrender of the strong posts taken by the enemy on the Schelde, which the Duke now repassed, relieved Brussels, and retook Ghent after the beginning of a severe winter.

He commenced the campaign of 1709 with the reduction of Tournay, and then sat down before Mons, in the neighbourhood of which city the enemy lay encamped behind works of uncommon extent and strength. These he forced; won the battle of Malplaquet; and Mons, dearly purchased by that furious and

sanguinary victory, presently after surrendered. The severe loss sustained on both sides arrested for the small remainder of the season all further active operations. The French army, separated into several divisions, retired to protect the few posts which they still held in Flanders; and Marlborough, having disposed his forces for the ensuing winter, met Eugene at the Hague to consult on the whole system of the widely extended war. Among the results of their deliberations was a plan for the simultaneous invasion of France in several quarters, which was rendered abortive by the selfishness and jealousy of some of the allied powers: in the meantime conferences were again held for settling the preliminaries of a treaty of peace, and broken up by the refusal of Louis to submit to the conditions suggested as to Spain. Marlborough's campaign of 1710 was confined to the French frontier, where, having passed the enemy's lines with exquisite skill, he invested Douay, which surrendered after a siege of six weeks. This acquisition was followed by the reduction of Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant. The operations of the year, rather successful than glorious, were influenced perhaps by those political disorders at home which will be presently mentioned, and which so powerfully affected Marlborough's mind that he now solicited of the Emperor the government, which he had formerly declined, of the Netherlands, as an asylum to which it might be convenient to him to retire from the possible effects of party rage. His request was evaded in terms that amounted to a refusal. The following year closed his services, and, though distinguished by no individual acquisition but the capture of Bouchain, produced perhaps the most remarkable proofs of his refined military skill, in a series of manœuvres by which he completely deceived the most celebrated French commander of his time, and accomplished his purpose of besieging that important fortress.

The Duke of Marlborough's political history, the outlines of which, for the sake of perspicuity, I have divided from the foregoing sketch of his military life, may be said to have commenced

with his appointment to the supreme command of the allied army. Nature had formed him for a soldier, and circumstances made him a statesman. Impelled by the masculine spirit and restless ambition of the Duchess, and tempted by the visions of unlimited power and wealth which the Queen's implicit submission to her will, and his consciousness of his own influence over the chief minister Godolphin, had opened to his view, he who displayed in the field the most undaunted courage, and the firmest decision, condescended to become at home a timid politician and a doubting counsellor. It may be questioned whether he was in his heart attached to any party, and, though his early habits inclined him to the Tories, yet he might be said rather to countenance than to act with them, but this seeming luke-warmth may perhaps be ascribed to the Duchess's affection to the Whigs, for he seldom directly opposed her inclinations, at least seldom with her knowledge.

Thus situated, he was entrusted by Anne on her accession to form, in concert with Godolphin, a Tory administration, and, having completed that arrangement, immediately sailed to Holland on his first campaign in the character of Generalissimo. To the Dukedom which was conferred on him at his return was annexed the grant of a pension from the revenue of the post-office of five thousand pounds, and it was proposed that it should be continued to his descendants, bearing the title, but this was strongly opposed in the Commons, and the Queen, at Marlborough's request, withdrew the message by which she had recommended it to the House, and softened the disappointment by the gift of an additional annuity of two thousand, out of her privy purse. He returned this kindness by the most strenuous efforts to procure a superb establishment for the Prince of Denmark, and Anne attributed the success of the bill to that effect, which passed the House of Peers by a majority of a single vote, to the exertions of himself and the Duchess; nor was he less active in favour of the bill for occasional conformity, a

measure which she had entirely at heart. The experience of parties in this first session after his appearance on the theatre of the state cost him more solicitude, if we may judge by his subsequent letters from the Continent, than the affairs of a campaign: the next produced embarrassments more vexatious. The Tories, even the ministers themselves, divided into two rancorous factions, one of which, headed by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, incessantly inveighed against the war; the continental connections which Marlborough had formed to support it; and, by an easy transition, against the conduct of the General, whom they accused of prolonging it for his private advantage. Meanwhile the Duchess, taking advantage of these disorders in a party which she detested, vainly assailed him with incessant importunities to coalesce with the Whigs, an union which the Queen as earnestly deprecated. Amidst this various contention, the Duke returned for a few weeks from the army, and, at his request, Robert Harley, whom he had long patronised, was appointed to succeed Nottingham as Secretary of State, and Henry St. John, then introduced by Harley, was made Secretary at War. The Duchess, even in the hour of their promotion, described the characters of these men to her husband, and prognosticated the return which they would make for his distinction of them with a sagacious correctness.

The unparalleled success of his military services, even the stupendous victory of Blenheim, worked no change in the disposition of parties towards him. He became miserable in the midst of his glories. "I will endeavour," says he, in a letter from Germany to the Duchess, of the twentieth of October, 1704, "to leave a good name behind me in countries that have hardly any blessing but that of not knowing the detested names of Whig and Tory:" and in another, about the same time—"I shall serve the Queen with all my soul, even to the hazard of a thousand lives, if I had them; but while I live I will meddle with no business but what belongs to the army;" yet immediately after, in

compliance with the Duchess's importunities, he procured the dismissal of the Duke of Buckingham from the custody of the Privy Seal, and the appointment of the Duke of Newcastle as his successor. He soon after returned from his splendid campaign, with the Commander in Chief of the French army a prisoner in his train, and the clamours of faction were for a while unheard amidst the honest acclamations of a people who always judge rightly when they are left to themselves. This interval however was short, and the ministry was soon after so furiously attacked by the most discontented and rapacious of both parties that Godolphin became alarmed; joined his arguments and entreaties to those of the Duchess; and Marlborough at length consented that some of the Whig leaders should be admitted into the government; confident at least of their support in the vigorous prosecution of the war. The Queen, to whom this change was odious, struggled hard to retain Sir Nathan Wright in the office of Lord Keeper, but was at length compelled to place the great seal in the hands of Cowper, and in the intemperance, not to say insolence, with which the Duchess of Marlborough urged her mistress on this point, and to obtain, as at length she did, the office of Secretary of State for her son in law, Sunderland, we discern the first symptoms of the decrease of that implicit compliance with her imperious will to which Anne had for so many years submitted. Her husband, in a blind obedience to his affection for her, seldom failed to second her views and intreaties, and sunk with her, though less rapidly, in the Queen's esteem, while Harley and St. John availed themselves of the influence of another female, whose favour with Anne secretly advanced in proportion to the decline of that of the Duchess, to work their way to power by indirectly thwarting the measures of their great patron, and his friend the Treasurer.

Marlborough however, on his return from the Continent in the autumn of 1706, received not only the cordial thanks of both Houses, but, having lost his only son, an enlarged settlement by

the crown of his titles on his four daughters, in succession, and their male issue, and a grant by act of parliament annexing to the title of Duke of Marlborough in all his descendants the manor of Woodstock, and House of Blenheim, built for him at the public charge, together with the pension of five thousand pounds, the entail of which, as has been already observed, was formerly denied to him. Anxious to impress on the Whigs a confidence in his zeal for the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, he espoused with apparent warmth the great and successful project for the Union with Scotland, and returned to his command with vain hopes that he had left a government somewhat settled. He had scarcely however departed when a feud arose between the Queen and her Whig ministers on the disposal of church preferments, and the tenacity with which she asserted her prerogative was ascribed by them to the advice of Marlborough and Godolphin, who had in fact exerted themselves to the utmost to induce her to concede. To this vexation was soon after added the clearest proofs that Mrs. Masham, the female lately alluded to, had not only supplanted the Duchess, by whom she had been rescued from poverty, and provided for in the Court, but that she had become the instrument of communication between the Queen and Mr. Harley, who now evidently aspired to the chief direction of affairs. Marlborough, shortly after his arrival in England in November 1708, and the Treasurer, having used every other instance to persuade Anne to dismiss him, wrote to her to declare plainly that they would no longer serve with him, and accordingly declined to attend at the next meeting of the Cabinet Council. They had prepared, though most unwillingly, to resign, when Harley, finding his interest in Parliament not yet sufficiently ripe to support his pretensions, as unwillingly retired, together with St. John, and a few other dependants.

Marlborough and the Treasurer gained little by these changes. The advantage which they obtained by supplying from the Whigs

the offices thus vacated was at least counterbalanced by the increased mortification and resentment of the Queen, arising as much from the admission of new members of that party which was so hateful to her, as from having seen her confidential minister removed in a manner by force. The Whigs, on their part, were still dissatisfied, and she was obliged further to sacrifice her prejudices by committing the Privy Seal to Somers, and the Admiralty to Oxford. She ascribed these repeated vexations chiefly to the Duchess, and their intercourse was now invariably marked by bold reproaches on the one side, and a sullen reserve on the other, equally unbecoming to the station of each. It was soon after closed for ever, but not till Marlborough had submitted to make personally the most humiliating efforts to restore her to favour, or what was worse, to persuade the Queen to let her retain her appointments without it. His intreaties were unsuccessful. Resolved, or rather compelled by the Duchess, to retire with her from all political concerns, but anxious, as his enemies alledged, to retain the profits of his military station, he now compromised his dignity by earnestly soliciting of Anne a grant of his appointments of Captain General, and Master of the Ordnance, for his life, and was refused. Enraged by these denials, and little less by the Queen's disposal of certain military promotions against his express advice, he retired suddenly into the country, and formed there a resolution to insist on the dismissal of Mrs. Masham as the only condition on which he could continue to command the army; but the pusillanimity of Godolphin, and the conflicting opinions of the Whig leaders in the ministry, whose advice he had requested, induced him to relinquish this spirited determination.

During this interval Harley, deriving advantage from the leisure afforded by his disengagement from office, planned, with the concurrence of the Queen, a new administration. As their arrangements proceeded, some distinguished Tories were appointed one by one to places in the court and state without

consulting the Treasurer, and sometimes even without his previous expectation. Various insults were vainly offered to provoke him to resign, and the Queen was at last obliged to send peremptorily to him for his staff. To dispose of Marlborough, shielded as he was by the glory which he had acquired, by the hope of his future services, and by solicitations, not only at home but by foreign powers, to retain his command, was more difficult. He, like Godolphin, was assailed by the most bitter affronts. On his return from the campaign of 1710, Anne, at his first audience, warned him to prevent his friends from moving the parliamentary vote of thanks which he had so long been accustomed to receive, for, said she, "my ministers will certainly oppose it." Three general officers were cashiered merely for toasting "his health, and confusion to his enemies." A host of political writers, from Swift, and St. John, and Prior, down to the vilest libellers, were employed to load him with every sort of obloquy. His popularity suddenly sunk under these latter attacks, while the Parliament, particularly the Peers, betrayed an inclination to censure, if not his conduct in the field, at least his military counsels; and we find in a confidential letter, written at this precise period by Harley, the creature of his hands, this menacing passage—"you must know that the moment he leaves the service, and loses the protection of the Court, such scenes will open as no victories can varnish over." If Marlborough's early years were stained by ingratitude he was now amply repaid in kind.

It is scarcely credible, but even in the following year Harley, now Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer, already under the pressure of political necessities, courted Marlborough with the affected confidence of a friend, and the respect of an inferior, and his advances were received with all the semblance of cordiality. The hero at the sound of whose name France trembled now sued from his camp to a puny enemy for protection against nameless slanderers at home, and was insulted by his hypocritical condolence. While every dispatch from Harley professed an

earnest zeal, and offered the most ample supplies, for the vigorous prosecution of the war, a secret negotiation for peace proceeded in London, and Marlborough had to learn from a newspaper that the preliminaries were signed. He returned, and was apprised on his road that charges of fraud and peculation had been preferred against him to the commissioners of public accounts by one of his army contractors. As he had on his arrival joined the Whigs against the ministry it was resolved to strike a decisive blow: the report of the Commissioners was published by authority, and two days after, on the thirty-first of December, 1711, under the pretence, as it is stated in the Council book, "that the matter might undergo an impartial investigation," the Queen dismissed him from all his employments. The Commons presently after resolved that his conduct in some of the matters alledged against him had been "unwarrantable and illegal," and an order was issued to the Attorney General to prosecute, but no process was ever instituted. His enemies were satisfied by his removal, and preferred the leaving a suspicion on his character to the hazard of a prosecution which it could scarcely be doubted would have terminated favourably to him. Marlborough, with his Duchess, now retired to Germany; devoted his counsels to the service of the Elector of Hanover; and when that Prince left his dominions to take possession of the English throne on the death of Anne, followed him to London.

Little remains to be told. The first acts of the new King were to restore to Marlborough his offices of Captain General, and Master of the Ordnance, and to lavish favours on his family. The invasion of Scotland in 1715 offered the final opportunity for his taking any concern in active military service, and his arrangements for the resistance of that extravagant attempt are said to have been admirably judicious and beneficial. In the course of the succeeding year he had two attacks of palsy, which in a great measure incapacitated him from attending to any but his own private affairs. He survived however till 1722, when nature gave

way to a third stroke on the sixteenth of June. His remains were deposited, with the greatest funeral pomp, but, strange to say, not at the public charge, in Westminster Abbey, from whence they were afterwards removed to the chapel at Blenheim House.

The Duke of Marlborough's issue was an only son, John, Marquis of Blandford, who died, as has been already stated, a minor; and four daughters; Henrietta, wife of Francis, second Earl of Godolphin, who succeeded under a settlement above quoted, to her father's dignities, and died without issue; Anne, married to Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, to whose issue they then passed, and from whom the present Duke is lineally descended; Elizabeth, wife of Scrope Egerton, first Duke of Bridgewater; and Mary, of John, Duke of Montagu.

Engraved by S. Freeman.

SARAH JENNINGS, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

OB. 1744.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, Published May 1, 1826, by Harding, Lepard & Co Pall Mall East.

SARAH JENNINGS,

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

THIS remarkable lady, who, without the aid of great talents, and with the positive disadvantage of a most irregular temper, possessed for many years a considerable share of public influence, was the second of the three daughters and coheirs of Richard Jennings, of Sandbridge, in the county of Hertford, a gentleman of respectable family, by Frances, daughter and heir of a Mr. Thornhurst, of Kent. The two elder sisters, in acknowledgement, as it is said, of some loyal services and losses by their father, were received at a very early age, Sarah being then only twelve years old, into the household of Mary, Duchess of York. Here she was chosen for the peculiar attendant on the Princess Anne, James's younger daughter, who was nearly of the same age; and here, three or four years after, she gained the heart of the gallant and accomplished Churchill, then a colonel in the army, and a gentleman of the bedchamber to the Duke, by whom he was already much esteemed and trusted. She became his wife in the spring of the year 1678.

While Churchill gradually acquired the confidence and the favour of James, his lady rose more rapidly in the affections of the young Princess. Anne was mild, sincere, humble, timid, and abounding in that sort of general reserve which is almost characteristic of a heart susceptible of the tenderest friendship; the powers of her mind were very limited, and to her earnest desire to be beloved was probably added a consciousness that she needed an adviser: with these qualities she possessed another, by no means inconsistent with any of them—a spirit of perseverance, when she had once resolved, so firm as perhaps to merit the

harsher appellation of obstinacy. Mrs. Churchill, with a character almost wholly opposite, was yet well qualified to live easily with such a person. She too was kind and sincere, but her kindness was generally grounded in pity, and her sincerity in disdain: she had however a heart strictly honest, and was neither cruel nor unjust, even amidst her highest resentments. Incapable of useful deliberation, she possessed a sagacity which seldom erred, and joined to a clear conception of characters and manners a never failing vivacity in the unreserved communication of her opinions. Between such a Princess, anxious to descend to the familiarities of private life, and such a servant, in whom the hatred of superiority was even an instinct, an union of some duration might perhaps be fairly expected.

In 1683 her husband was advanced to the Scottish peerage, by the title of Lord Churchill, and in the same year, when a more extended household was allotted to the Princess on her marriage to the Prince of Denmark, she was appointed, at Anne's special request to her father, a lady of her bedchamber, and was soon after placed at the head of that department. In a letter to her, written just at that period, the Princess says—" let me beg of you not to call me 'your Highness' at every word, but be as free with me as one friend ought to be with another; and you can never give me any greater proof of your friendship than in telling me your mind freely in all things, which I do beg you to do." Not satisfied with such minor condescensions, and solicitous to indulge to the utmost in the illusion of equality, she shortly after proposed that they should correspond in the feigned names of private persons, and in all their secret intercourse for many subsequent years they used the designations of Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman, Lady Churchill, to whom the Princess had given the option, having chosen the latter.

James now succeeded to the throne, and it is almost needless to say that in his anxiety to gain proselytes to the Romish faith he did not overlook his daughter. Lady Churchill, zealous in all

that she professed or practiced, was a zealous protestant and whig, and strengthened with all her influence Anne's inclination to resist. Doubtless too she assisted in inducing the Princess to desert her father, on the landing of the Prince of Orange, and she was the companion of her flight, the method of which she had previously planned in concert with the Bishop of London. Neither were her persuasions wanting to obtain the Princess's consent to the settlement of the crown on William for his life. Such praise or blame however as she incurred in matters involved in that revolution might probably be more justly due to her husband, whose activity in it, against the interest of his royal master and patron, has been abundantly and justly censured. William, on obtaining the throne, rewarded him with an earldom, and she now became Countess of Marlborough.

The new King, whose doubtful title Anne had thus contributed to strengthen by ceding her birthright in his favour, began his reign by quarrelling with her on the amount of the revenue to be settled on her, in which he was heartily joined by the Queen, her sister. Anne, supported by the Tories, threw herself on the Parliament, and carried her point, chiefly through the management of Marlborough and his lady, to the mortal offence both of the King and Queen. Marlborough, against whom there were other causes for resentment, was now discharged from his appointments, and the Princess, having refused to obey a stern mandate, by which the Queen required her to dismiss his lady, received presently a second, to prohibit the residence of the Countess at the Cockpit, where Anne had long lived, and which she now instantly quitted, with her friend, for a borrowed house. The most furious anger ensued on both sides, and was as usual vented in unbecoming and vulgar expressions. William, in the private conversations of Anne and Lady Marlborough, was usually called "Caliban, the Dutch abortion," and "the Monster," and his favourite countryman, the Earl of Portland, was complimented with the name of "Wooden-head." These disgraceful broils

were terminated by the unexpected death of the Queen in 1694, soon after which Marlborough was restored to the King's good graces, and the persecution of the Countess ceased, but her hatred to William remained unaltered till his death.

On the accession of her mistress to the throne she burst forth a politician. The love of rule was her darling passion, and she seems to have applied it to the affairs of a kingdom with as little hesitation as to the intrigues of a royal household. Her party predilections were diametrically opposed to those of the Queen, as well as to those professed by her Lord, who acted with the tories. "I resolved," says she, in the 'Account of her own Conduct,' which she published in the latter years of her life, "from the very beginning of the Queen's reign, to try whether I could not by degrees make impressions on her mind more favourable to the whigs:" and Anne, in a letter to her of the same period, writes—"I am very glad to find by my dear M^rs. Freeman's that I was blest with yesterday, that she liked my speech; but I cannot help being extremely concerned you are so partial to the whigs, because I would not have you and your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley differ in opinion on the least thing; and, upon my word, my dear M^rs. Freeman, you are mightily mistaken in your notion of a true whig," &c. Each however remained stedfast in her opinion, as well as in the means severally used by them to conquer each other's prejudices. While Lady Marlborough besieged by regular and open approaches, the Queen sought to gain her by bribery. She was placed in the great courtly offices of Groom of the Stole, Mistress of the Robes, and Keeper of the Privy Purse; two of her daughters were made Ladies of the Bedchamber; and Lord Godolphin, whose heir was married to the elder of them, was appointed Lord Treasurer. Even the vast favours lavished at the same time on Lord Marlborough may be in some measure traced to the same motive. To so ridiculous a length did Anne carry this system of conciliation that, when she had resolved, on the termination of his first campaign, to raise

him prematurely, for so it was, to the first dignity that an English subject can hold, she gave notice of it to his lady in these terms —" It is very uneasy to your poor unfortunate faithful Morley to think that she has so little in her power to shew how truly sensible I am of all my Lord Marlborough's kindness, especially at a time when he deserves all that a rich crown could give; but, since there is nothing else at this time, I hope you will give me leave as soon as he comes to make him a Duke." The Countess objected to this proposal, and stated her reasons with equal good sense and sincerity, but at length submitted.

The Queen had commenced her reign with a Tory administration. The Duchess, after passing two years in incessant efforts to undermine it, and in endeavouring to persuade Anne to replace it wholly from the opposite party, was obliged to content herself with half a triumph. The Queen, worn out by her importunities, and sheltering herself under the advice, or rather compliance, of Marlborough and Godolphin, who were in a great measure ruled by the same influence, consented to a sort of compromise, and several of the whig leaders were admitted into office: among these, the Queen hesitated long on the appointment of the Earl of Sunderland to the office of Secretary of State. He was perhaps the most determined member of his party; his manners were repulsive, and his temper was ungovernable; but he was the husband of one of the Duchess's daughters. Marlborough himself faintly opposed his advancement to the post; the Queen besought with fond and querulous intreaties, but at length gave way; and the Duchess, in gaining this point, seems to have lost irrevocably her mistress's affection. It had been long failing, but so inveterate was the habit of controul on the one side, and compliance on the other, that the parties themselves were perhaps insensible of its decay. The Duchess's letters to her however, which had been for some time gradually assuming a tone of formality, became on this occasion frequently rude and scornful, not only in their sense, but in their very terms of expression.

Anne seems not to have recollected that she was a Queen till the Duchess had wholly forgotten herself to be a subject.

It is doubtful whether her Majesty, even under this extremity of oppression, could have found sufficient strength of mind to set herself at liberty by her own efforts, but encouragement is always at hand to Princes who wish to dispose of favourites. The Duchess had placed in the royal household some years before a first cousin of the name of Hill, the daughter of a broken merchant, and the insignificant office held by this lady gave her frequent access to the Queen's person. Anne, to whom custom as well as nature had rendered a familiar companion necessary, presently distinguished her from her other attendants of the same rank; sought consolation in her society after the storms to which the intemperance of the Duchess now so frequently exposed her, and insensibly became attached to her. She was at length married, with the greatest privacy, to Mr., afterwards Lord, Masham, in the presence of the Queen, who gave her a portion, and the discovery of these facts by the Duchess, which was long in reaching her, was accompanied by the fearful intelligence that Mrs. Masham had become the medium of secret communication between the Queen and the most dangerous political enemies of Marlborough and herself. She now besieged Anne with new remonstrances and reproaches, which were heard with patience, and for some time answered by faint professions of kindness; but the Queen had formed her determination, and, after several months had been passed in unceasing endeavours to effect even the decent appearances of reconciliation, as well by the Duke as by his lady, she parted finally with Anne on the sixth of April, 1710, after a long conversation little remarkable but for the taciturn coldness of the one, and the angry volubility of the other.

The conduct of the Duchess after this interview disappointed the expectations of her friends, and gratified the malice of her enemies. She left no means untried to retain her offices. She

even condescended to the baseness of indirectly menacing the Queen with a publication of all their correspondence, and the expedient for a while succeeded. She prevailed on Marlborough to return from the continent, and to solicit for her, as he did, almost abjectly, at more than one audience. Anne however was inexorable; yet the Duchess delayed her resignation even to the hour in which she was conscious that it would be forced from her. She resigned, and having passed this bitter point, abandoned herself to all the extravagances of childish resentment, such as tearing down chimney-pieces, locks, and other small matters, which had been put up at her expence in her official apartments in St. James's Palace; while Anne, as though to emulate this mean and spiteful absurdity, threatened, through her Secretary of State, alluding to the mansion of Blenheim, that "she would build no house for the Duke of Marlborough when the Duchess had pulled her's to pieces." Anger is the only passion the excesses of which high breeding cannot in some degree refine, or at least disguise.

She retired into the country, overwhelmed with discontent, and assailed by innumerable libels, and remained there in seclusion till the following year, when the Duke, discharged from his employments, went to Germany, whither she presently followed him, and returned with him after the death of the Queen. In spite of disappointments, loss of power, and increasing years, she now relapsed into party politics, and private resentments; taxed her lord with inactivity when he had become incapable of exertion; quarrelled individually and collectively, with a ministry which had been formed by her son-in-law, Sunderland, and most bitterly with himself; was accused by him, in return, of secret correspondence with the Pretender, and driven to court humbly the good graces of the Duchess of Kendal, the royal mistress, to obtain the means of justifying herself to George the First; and, finally, became the implacable, however impotent, enemy to the family and interests of that Prince, because he forebore in his

civil answer to her representations implicitly to acquit her, when he had not in fact the means of knowing whether she was innocent or guilty. The restless violence of temper which had plunged her into these difficulties vented itself in her old age on her own family, with almost every member of which she was on ill terms, and with more than one engaged in law-suits.

The Duchess of Marlborough survived her celebrated Lord for more than twenty years. She was solicited in marriage, when past her grand climacteric, by the Duke of Somerset, and Lord Coningsby, and her answer to the former is yet extant. After excusing herself on the score of her age, she concludes by declaring that, "were she only thirty years old, she would not permit the Emperor of the world to succeed in that heart which had been devoted to John Duke of Marlborough;" and surely gratitude as well as pride demanded of her this tribute to his memory, for to the last he loved her with the most exquisite tenderness. She died on the eighteenth of October 1744, at the age of eighty-four.

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